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## Wood Resources

To Hotu-matua, who first settled the island, tradition attributes the introduction of all the species of flora of economic use. Among them is the following list of trees, enumerated in the native version of the legend given to me by Tepano: ***mahute, hauhau, toro-miro, naunau, marikuru.*** With the exception of the paper mulberry it is possible that some of them "belonged to the original flora and that the natives who were acquainted with their useful qualities started to propagate them" (208, vol. 2, p. 77). From this list it is clear that the Easter Islanders did not lack wood necessary for the development of their culture, though many writers assume as much in order to increase the mystery of the island. Therefore I consider it extremely important to give the opinion of a prominent botanist, Dr. Carl Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, p. 402):

> . . . And I have been led to believe that some kind of forest once existed in Easter Island, formed by Sophora; and other species, exterminated long ago, may also have occurred. No native tradition tells us anything about these forests, but we can safely conclude that the *toromiro* must have been plentiful. The natives used much wood, not only for the construction of canoes, paddle oars, frame work for their houses and some other necessary things, but they also manufactured small wooden statues and many other ornaments famous for their artistic value, and these must have existed by thousands. The *toromiro* is a small tree, and with a population once amounting to several thousands the supply became exhausted. Cultivated fields and enclosures spread all over the place, crowding out the indigenous vegetation. Paper mulberry, *Cordyline*, *Sapindus*, bananas, cane, taro, sweet potato, etc. were introduced by the natives, and some weeds accompanied them. Many more have been introduced later, when communications with Tahiti and Chile were established; some have become naturalized and form an important feature in the present-day grassland.

Among the trees introduced in the last 60 years, the most common are the *miro-tahiti*, the Eucalyptus, the fig, and the orange. In the gardens of the English residence at Mataveri grow a great many imported plants and new ones are continually being acclimated. The islanders use much wood for the curios that they exchange for clothes and other supplies. Therefore they do not hesitate to destroy a tree to transform it into a score of wooden images. Indeed their destructiveness has become such a nuisance that, outside the residence of the managers, the English company has planted Eucalyptus, the wood of which cannot be carved.

The natives of old used not only the trees growing on the land for the wood they needed but also driftwood which was greatly appreciated. There is a tale of a marvelous tree which landed on the island, sent by the spirit of a man to his son. The arrival of the tree caused great excitement nearly resulting in a fight between groups of islanders, all eager to make precious ornaments from it. (See p. 376.)

Analyses of the wood in some of the scripture tablets and wooden images reveal the use of much *Podocarpus latifolia* and of *Dammara australis*, trees

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## TRADITIONAL HISTORY

There is no other Polynesian island whose past is so little known as that of Easter Island. This is largely due to sudden reductions of population (pp. 20-23) and the complete acceptance of European culture and belief. Fifteen years ago there were still a few men who remembered the ancient culture. Now (1934) there are only two old women who were born before the Christian era. The information on past history which may be gathered is not in the form of direct testimony, but rather in indirect evidence, emanating from a few survivals of the past.

Material on traditional history of Easter Island is limited to several lists of kings which are of dubious value and to a few legends, almost exclusively concerned with the period of settlement, the rivalry between the Long-ears and the Short-ears, and the war between Tuu and Hotu-iti districts. The first period of traditional history deals with the migration, settlement, and great deeds of Hotu-matua and his followers. After this is the long period extending to the present time, in which the only recorded events are intertribal wars, manifestations of the mana of kings, and some incidents such as the discovery of obsidian or the tumbling down of the statues. The struggle between Long-ears and Short-ears is a tale too simple to justify the intercalation of a separate period between the settlement era and the later ages. Lacking genealogies, traditional history of Easter Island has no chronological guide.

### SETTLEMENT PERIOD

#### Sources

Traditions referring to the settlement period were collected at a very early date. Roussel's recently published manuscript (190, p. 357) contains the earliest account of the landing of the first king at Anakena, as told by the natives. It is likely that the brief allusions made by Palmer (171, p. 180) and Gana (86, p. 32) to the same legend derive from the same source and were communicated to them by Roussel. Thanks to the intelligent curiosity of Alexander Salmon, Thomson (215, pp. 526-529) was able to get a complete and detailed native version of the voyage of Hotu-matua and the discovery of Easter Island. Salmon told the same legend to Clark (52, p. 145). Mrs. Routledge had the good fortune to get from an old native another version, abundant with details which even Thomson's text lacks. Juan Tepano, my informant, dictated to me in the native language a fairly good text on the same subject, enabling me to understand much obscure information, discarded or misinterpreted by former investigators. The legend of Hotu-matua as published by Brown (27, pp. 39-42) has the same origin. Despite some divergencies, there is unity between the various versions which seems to indicate a body of traditions which has been transmitted in a fixed pattern.

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## Discovery and Settlement

The first immigrants to Easter Island came from an island called either Marae-renga (115, p. 241, and Tepano) or Marae-toe-hau (215, p. 527), or from both these islands (194, p. 277). All the natives agree that their ancestors came from the west, and this seems to be the opinion commonly held in the past. Salmon told Clark (52, p. 145) and Thomson (215, p. 527) that the land of Hotu-matua lay to the east, but, in his later interview with Geiseler (87, p. 43), he recognized that this belief contradicted other native opinion. Belief in the eastern origin of their ancestors was held by those natives who considered the Galapagos Islands the sailing point of the immigrants. The inconsistency of this tradition is shown by the fact that the Galapagos have been uninhabited up to the present time and were unknown to Easter Islanders until after European contact.

The version told to me of the arrival of Hotu-matua on Easter Island makes no mention of the antecedents of the migrators nor the causes, real or otherwise, which induced the king to search for a new home. Thomson (215, pp. 527-528) and Routledge (194, pp. 277-278) give abundant, though varying, details concerning the preliminary causes of this migration. Perhaps the incompatibility of important details suggests, instead of differences in traditions concerning that period, a long and involved series of episodes which could easily have been confused or forgotten. Thomson's version, which is the more ancient as well as the more consistent, is not entirely reliable and many things seem to have been misinterpreted. Routledge's text is apparently incomplete. According to both versions, Hotu-matua was a king on Marae-renga and had succeeded his father whose name was Te-Riri-ka-atea. Routledge (194, p. 277) writes that Hotu-matua's departure from the island was the consequence of a quarrel between him and his brother, Te-Ita-ke-atea. Hotu-matua was defeated and obliged to go in search of a new country.

All the versions of the settlement legend agree that Hotu-matua was not the first man to sight the island but that he had been preceded by six men who landed a little before he did. The circumstances under which these six men left their country to look for a new land are given by Routledge (194, p. 278):

> Now there was on one of the islands a certain Haumaka, who had tattooed Hotu, and received from him in return a present of mother of pearl which had been given to Hotu's father by an individual called Tuhu-patoea. Tuhu had seen that the men who went down to get pearls were eaten by a big fish, so he invented a net by which the precious shell could be obtained without risk, and the pearl so procured he had presented to his chief, Ko Riri. This man, Haumaka, had a dream, and during it his spirit went to a far country, and when he awoke he told six men, whose names are given, to go and seek for it; they were to look for a land where there were three islets and a big

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hole, also a long and beautiful road.[8] So the six men went, each on a piece of wood, and they found the three islets, Motu Nui, Motu Iti, Motu Kao-kao, and the big hole, which was the crater of Rano Kao. They landed on that part of the island and planted yams, and then walked round the island, beginning by the south coast.

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Far more romantic is Thomson's version (215, p. 530) wherein Hotu-matua had a brother called Machaa (?) who was in love with a beautiful girl whom another chief, Oroi, wanted to marry. The woman promised Oroi she would be his wife if he could walk around the island "without stopping to eat, or to rest by day or night." People had to carry food for him to eat during his tour, and Oroi was even accompanied during the first few miles by the girl. But the same night she eloped with Machaa (?). The story continues:

> Oroi did not hear this news until he had arrived at the farther end of the island; then he returned directly to his home, where he prepared a great feast to which he summoned all the warriors of his clan. The indignity that had been put upon him was related, and all present registered a vow that they would never rest until Hotu-matua and his entire family had been put to death. Machaa (?), alarmed by the wrath of Oroi, embarked with six followers and his bride in a large double canoe; with plenty of provisions they sailed in the night. "The great spirit Mekemeke is supposed to have appeared and made it known to him that a large uninhabited island could be found by steering towards the setting sun."

If Thomson's information were entirely consistent, there would have been no reason for Hotu-matua to leave his home island after his brother who had offended Oroi was gone. But Oroi supposedly turned his wrath against Hotu-matua and defeated him in three battles. Thomson (215, p. 528) explains Hotu-matua's flight as follows:

> Discouraged by his misfortune, and convinced that his ultimate capture and death were certain, he determined to flee from the island of Marae-toe-hau, and accordingly had two large canoes, 90 feet long and 6 feet deep, provisioned and prepared for a long voyage. In the night, and on the eve of another battle they sailed away, with the understanding that the setting sun was to be their compass.

Tepano, who told me my version of the legend, says that the six men were sent out by King Hotu-matua to make a reconnaissance. The canoe in which these six men went to Easter Island is alluded to in my text as "oraora miro", an expression now incomprehensible to the natives but consecrated by tradition as the name of the craft used by the first discoverers of the island. The modern equivalent of *oraora* is "garbage, excrement, dirty things," and *miro* means "wood." Routledge (194, p. 278) must have heard this name for the boat for she speaks of the craft as "a piece of wood." Brown (27, p. 40), who also worked with Tepano, uses the name "oraora-ngaru" which he interprets as "saved-from-the-billows." Tepano's version, given below, contains many references to the dreams and the predictions of a certain Haumaka, but

[8] Probably refers to a sandy beach. The narrator could hardly have spoken of a road since the island was uninhabited.

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● 173 his name is mentioned only once in the compound name designating Rano-kao as The Black-pit-of-Haumaka (Te Poko-uri-a-Haumaka).

HOTU-MATUA

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539 He hakaunga mai a Hotu-matua e ono tangata i runga i *Te Oruora-miro*. He oho mai, he rarama i te kona mo noho o te ariki. He ki mai Hotu-matua: "E ui te kona riva-riva oone mo noho o te ariki." He oho mai tau nga io era i runga i *Te Oruora-miro*. He tomo a te motu Ki-nga-kope-tutu-vai-a-te-Toanga. He rere, he oho mai, he tomo ki Te Pu. He iri, he oho, he ea ki Orongo. He oho mai Orongo, he tuu ki te kona ko Ana-marikuru. He tuu, he puke i te uhi. He oti te puke i te uhi, he uru i te uhi. He oti te uru, he oho mai, he rarama.

He ui ki te rano, he ki: "Ko te Poko-uri-a-Haumaka." He oho mai, he tuu ki Te Manavai, he tuu ki Hangavaka-o-Tuapoi. He oho mai ki Oroi, ki Anavaero. He ui era ki Rungavae, ki Hanga-tetenga. He oho era a ono nga io ki Hanga-ikiri, ki Vai-moai, ki Hanga-mai-hiku, ki Atama. He ui Atama, he ki: "He niuhi tapa kai i motu Motero-hiva."

He oho hakahou ki Hanga-tuhata. He oho hakahou ki Oone-tea. He ki: "Ira i te kona mo te ariki mo noho." He ki mai tetahi nga io era: "Ina kona rakerake. Matu ki kimi, ki oho." He oho ki Ana-havea, ki Tonga-riki, ki Hanga-nui, ki Te Hakarava, ki Potu-te-rangi-te-hukingaheru, ki Ana-te-ava-nui, ki ahu Rikiriki, ki Kavakava-kioe, ki Kiriroa, ki Te Haha-o-te-kauae, ki Maunga Parehe, ki Vai-mahaki, ki Kohau-hati, ki Mahatua.

He ui mai ki te oone o Taharoa. He ki hakahou: "Ira ai te kona mo noho o te ariki." He ki: "Kona tae riva." He oho hakahou mai ki Mauku-roa, ki Ngarau-hiva, ki Vai-mangeo, ki Hatu-o-puna, ki Hanga-o-miti, ki Hanga-o-honu, ki Hanga-ko-uri, ki Punapau, ki Puna-rere-takea, ki Punga-ahoa, ki Hanga-kihikihi. He tikea hakahou te oone o Ovahe. He ki

Hotu-matua sent six men on board *The Living-wood*. They came, they surveyed the land as a home for the king. Hotu-matua had said: "Look for a beautiful country with sand for the king to live on." Those six young men came on *The Living-wood*. They landed at the island Ki-nga-kope-tutu-vai-a-te-Toanga[6]. They jumped off, they came on, they landed at Te Pu. They climbed, they came, they reached Orongo. They came on from Orongo, they arrived at the place named Ana-marikuru. They stopped, they mounded the soil for yams. [When] the yam mounds were finished, they planted the yams. [When] the planting was finished, they went on to inspect the land.

They saw the crater, they said: "It is the Black-pit-of-Haumaka." They came on, they arrived at Te Manavai, they arrived at Hangavaka-o-Tuapoi. They came on to Oroi, to Anavaero. They looked at Rungavae, at Hanga-tetenga. Those six young men came on to Hanga-ikiri, to Vai-moai, to Hanga-mai-hiku, to Atama. They looked at Atama, [and] said: "There are sharks off the sharp point of the island Motero-hiva."

They came on again to Hanga-tuhata. They came on again to Oone-tea. They observed, "There is the land for the king to live on." One of those six young men said: "No, it is a bad land. Let us search, let us go." They came to Ana-havea, to Tonga-riki, to Hanga-nui, to Te Hakarava, to Potu-te-rangi-te-hukingaheru, to Ana-te-ava-nui, to the ahu Rikiriki, to Kavakava-kioe, to Kiriroa, to Te Haha-o-te-kauae, to Mount Parehe, to Vai-mahaki, to Kohau-hati, to Mahatua.

They saw the sand of Taharoa. One said again: "Here is the land for the king to stay." They said: "The land is no good." They came on again to Mauku-roa, to Ngarau-hiva, to Vai-mangeo, to Hatu-o-puna, to Hanga-o-miti, to Hanga-o-honu, to Hanga-ko-uri, to Punapau, to Puna-rere-takea, to Punga-ahoa, to Hanga-kihikihi. They saw again the sand of

[6] Literally For-the-young-men-to-come-to-the-water-of-Toanga. The meaning is not clear. Tepano said that this name designated the three islands: Motu-kaokao, Motu-iti, and Motu-nui.

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"I te kona mo te ariki." He ki hakahou mai tau tetahi nga io era: "Ina." He ui hakahou, he vari, he oho, he tikea Anakena, he ki: "Inei te ariki ana noho kona rivariva."

He tikea te honu i runga i te oone, he moe roa. He oho mai tau nga io era a ono, he tuu ki tau honu era, he aaru, he pua mai te honu hai kapeu, he mate etahi. He tupatupa, he tere atu te honu, he tupatupa mai i tau honu tangata.

He oo ki roto ki te ana, ki Ihu-arero, te ingoa o te ana. He hakamoe i roto i te ana. He noho e rima, he tiaki katahi raa, karua raa, katoru raa.

He ngongorovaa tetahi nga io, he ki: "Pehe korua ki oho ro tatou ka hakarere atu te mee na?" He too mai i te pipi-hereko; he hakatuutuu i te haha o te ana. He ki te pipi-hereko, a ririma pipi-hereko: "Ana ui mai te kope era, ka rere te korua reo a ririma korua. Ana ui hakahou, mai ai te korua reo ka ki rua no." He hakarere, he ea mai, he oho roa avai tau nga io era. He tuu ki Rapanga-rei, a Ira, a Raparenga, a Kuukuu, a Ringiringi, a Tavatava-ahu-atava. He oho, he tuu ki Mataveri. He piri hakahou mai etahi kope pirivaenga no mai. He rite hakahou e ono.

He iri, he tuu ki tau uhi era. He ku roroa hakahou e te mauku, ku riku ana, ku tupu hakahou ana te mauku. He ki hakahou tau nga io era: "Kainga kino, kahukahu o hera (he ra)."

He oho, he tuu ki Orongo, he ui ko te vaka o Hotu-matua. Erua vaka, o Tuu-ko-ihu te rua. He ui mai a Hotu-matua: "Pehea uta te kainga ena?" He rangi atu tau nga io era: "Kainga kino, kahukahu o he ra, mai te unu, mai te unu, mai te vere, mai te vere." He rangi hakahou mai Hotu-matua: "Kainga kino hoki; tai papaku, ka rivariva; tai ua ka okooko." He ki tetahi nga io era: "Mo he ra koe i rangi ai kia Hotu-matua oira ka rangi ro mai Hotu-matua i te vananga rakerake mo tatou."

He oho te vaka o Hotu-matua a te rara mataou, he oho hoki te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu te rara maui. "He oho mai te vaka ou, Ovahe. They said: "Here is the country for the king." One of the young men said again: "No." They looked again, they turned the point [of Kouo], they came, they saw Anakena, they said: "Here the king will live in a fine place."

They saw a turtle on the sand, it was asleep. Those six young men came on, they arrived at the turtle, they seized it, the turtle struck with its flipper, one was wounded. They carried, the turtle escaped, they carried a man instead of a turtle.

They entered a cave, Ihu-arero is the name of the cave. They laid down [the wounded man] in the cave. The five stayed, they kept watch one day, two days, three days.

One of the young men became bored, he said: "How would you that we go on and leave this person?" They made cairns; they set them up at the mouth of the cave. They said to the cairns, to the five cairns: "If the young man asks you questions, tell [him] lies you five. If he asks you questions again, tell [him] only lies." They left him, they came out, they went away these young men. They arrived at Rapanga-rei, Ira, Raparenga, Kuukuu, Ringiringi, Tavatava-ahu-atava. They went on, they arrived at Mataveri. They met a young man in the middle of their way. Again they were six.

They ascended and arrived at the yams. The grass was high again, it was full of weeds, the grass had grown again. Those young men again said: "Bad land, covered with weeds there [?]."

They left, they arrived at Orongo, they saw the canoe of Hotu-matua. There were two canoes, the second one was that of Tuu-ko-ihu. Hotu-matua asked: "How is the interior of that land?" Those young men answered: "The land is bad, there are too many weeds [?], if it is cleaned it would be cleaned, if it is weeded, it would be weeded." Hotu-matua shouted again: "It is a bad land; when the tide is low, it is good; when the tide is high, it is covered." One of the young men said: "Why did you shout that bad news to Hotu-matua, because of that Hotu-matua will plan something bad for us."

The canoe of Hotu-matua went to the left, the canoe of Tuu-ko-ihu went to the right. "Your canoe comes, o Hotu-matua."

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173 539 Hotu-matua e." He tuu mai ki Vai-mahaki o haho, he ui mai ki te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu ka tu ki Veronga-te-toremo tupuaki ana mo tomo ki Anakena. He ki mai te reo o Hotu-matua mai runga mai toona vaka ki te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu: "Ka hakamau te konekone, ka hakamau te konekone." He oho mai tau vaka era o Hotu-matua, he tomo rae ki Hiramoko. E tomo ana, he poreko ro ana te poki ko Tuu-ma-heke. He oho rua mai te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu, he tomo rua a Hanga-o-hio. He poreko ko Ava-reipua, tamahahine.

He oho atu te rongo a Hotu-matua ki a Tuu-ko-ihu mo nanangi o te pito mo hakahiti i te ata[5] o te ariki o Tuu-ma-heke. He oho mai a Tuu-ko-ihu. He hakahiti, he oho mai i te ata o te ariki he tuu ki runga ki te ariki ki a Tuu-ma-heke. He hahau i te pito. He oho mai te tangata, he nanangi i te pito. He hoki Tuu-ko-ihu, he hahau i te pito o te ariki tama-hahine ko Ava-reipua. He nanangi, he oti. He tomo te tangata, he rotu, he noho. He tomo rua te tangata o Hotu-matua, he noho i Hira-moko.

He oho mai irunga i te vaka te tangata, te moa, te kuri,[6] te kekeipu, te paihenga, te huri maika, te mahute, te hauhau, te ti, te toro-miro, te marikuru, te makoi, te naunau, te ipu, te uhi, maika pukapuka, maika korotea, maika hihi, maika onahoa, maika pahu. Ka rau, ka rau te tangata, te mahingo, ku oho ro mai ai ki te kainga i runga i te vaka.

[Hotu-matua] arrived outside of the headland of Vai-mahaki, he saw the canoe of Tuu-ko-ihu arriving at Veronga-te-toremo about to land at Anakena. The voice of Hotu-matua cried from his canoe to the boat of Tuu-ko-ihu: "Stay your paddles, stay your paddles." The canoe of Hotu-matua came on [and] landed first at Hiramoko. As it was landing, there was born the child Tuu-ma-heke. The boat of Tuu-ko-ihu also came on, [and] landed also at Hanga-o-hio. There was born Ava-reipua, a girl.

The messenger of Hotu-matua went to Tuu-ko-ihu to have him cut the navel cord and produce a charm for the prince, Tuu-ma-heke. Tuu-ko-ihu came. He conducted the ritual and the halo of royalty surmounted the prince, Tuu-ma-heke. He tied the navel cord. The man came, he bit off the cord. Tuu-ko-ihu returned, he tied the navel cord of the chiefess, Ava-reipua. He bit it, he finished. The people landed, they gathered, they stayed. The people of Hotu-matua also landed, [and] stayed at Hira-moko.

There came on the canoe the man, the fowl, the cat, the turtle, the dog, the banana plant, the paper mulberry, the hibiscus, the ti, the *toro-miro*, the *makoi*, the sandalwood, the gourd, the yam, *puka-puka* banana, *korotea* banana, *hihi* banana, *onahoa* banana, *pahu* banana. Hundreds and hundreds were the people, the *ma-hingo* [?] who came to the land on the canoe.

173 The foregoing legend of Hotu-matua is fairly complete. In order to reconstruct the story as it was passed on from one generation to the next, it is necessary to make a minute comparison of the various versions, stressing the parallels as well as the divergencies. All important versions agree upon the discovery of the island by a party of six explorers, but they give different reasons for the migration from Marae-renga.

Thomson's version (215, p. 528) is the only one which alludes to the duration of the voyage between Marae-renga and Easter Island; according to that, the immigrants were two months at sea. All three versions state that the islets at the southwestern point of the main island were first sighted by the explorers; and their first act on arrival at the main island was to plant

[5] The meaning of this sentence is no longer understood by Easter Islanders. They interpret it simply as "to practice sorcery." *Hakahiti* may mean "to recite, to rise," cognate with the Maori expression *whakawhiti* (to revive). *Ata* means "image, reflection, red cloud," and may be interpreted here as "halo," which is made to surround the head of the new-born chief. My informant suggested that the expression be translated "to make the red cloud rise in the sky."

[6] In the Easter Island dialect, *kuri* has come to mean cat and a dog is *paihenga*.

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yams in small earth heaps on the slope of Rano-kao. The three versions mention the voyage around the island. Routledge barely mentions it, giving no reason for it. Presumably, as in other versions, the party was searching for a sandy beach. All three versions of the tradition have the episode of the turtle, but the speaking cairns appear only in mine. Apparently the introduction of Ratavake to take the place of Kuukuu is an attempt to recoup the traditional number of explorers after a late introduction of the turtle episode in which one of the six men was killed. As presented, the entire incident is devoid of special significance.

Several fixed sentences have become almost meaningless to the present generation as perhaps they were for the preceding one. They were transmitted through the ages, alluding to episodes or beliefs now lost. *Kainga kino, kahu-kahu o hera* refers no doubt to overgrown grass and weeds. Though he recognized that the literal meaning of these words was unknown, Tepano insisted that the traditional interpretation was: "The land is bad, grass smothers all your plants." A local tradition or proverb perhaps accounts for the words uttered by the youngsters when they went to look at the yams that had been planted on the slope of Rano-kao (Routledge, 194, p. 278, says on Motu-nui). The original tradition as told by Tepano to Brown (*27*, p. 40) states that Ratavake went to Motu-nui, where he fell asleep. He was followed by Ira who did the same. While they slept Hotu-matua arrived and tied up his two canoes to the islet.

With the landing of Hotu-matua begins the history of Easter Island. The first recorded traditions of the *ariki* who settled on the desert island with his followers figure in the recently published manuscript of Father Roussel (190, p. 357):

> According to the natives, the island was uninhabited when two big canoes without masts, with bows raised high like the neck of a swan, and with an equally high, forked stern, appeared on the southwestern coast and skirted it until they reached a bay located on the north side; it was the bay of Anakena. In each canoe were about four hundred people. This little beach with white sand appeared to be a suitable landing place for Hotu-matua, chief of the two canoes, and his wife, Ava-reipua. He immediately made the canoe approach, and drew the two boats upon the beach. Then he began the landing of the men, the women, and the children with all the provisions consisting of pigs, fowls, taro, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, *toro-miro*, *gaoho*, *maute*, sugar cane, etc. There are here two small bushes that might have been imported. They only thrive in the cracks of rocks. I asked the natives in order to tempt them, whether these bushes had also been introduced. "No," they said unanimously, "they are from here, from Rapanui. You see the goats, the pumpkins, all these things have not been brought by our ancestors, these presents have been made to us by the ships from the Callao."
>
> After a short stay in Anakena to rest, the new settlers walked all over the island, and some established themselves at one place and others at another. Everyone proceeded immediately to plant the products brought from abroad. Hotu, who was the king, resigned soon after in favor of his son, Tumaheke.

According to Thomson (215, p. 528), King Hotu-matua arrived two months after the first explorers. The number of canoes is given as two in

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173 every source; in Routledge's version the two canoes, called respectively *Oteka* and *Oua*, were bound together, "but as they came near the land the cord which united them was cut." Here perhaps is evidence of a dim memory of the double canoes in which the first settlers arrived. Roussel's description of Hotu-matua's canoes recalls some petroglyphs on the island representing boats. 173 Tepano remembered having heard that ancient boats had high, forked sterns. 501 Naturally, the description of Hotu-matua's canoe fits the type of craft that natives used before their culture was destroyed. The canoe of Hotu-matua was so long that it stretched from the little cove called Hira-moko, on the south of Anakena, to the big red hat about half a mile from Ovahe. The second boat was of the same dimensions, and there are also two landmarks that recall her size. Thomson's informants had a more sensible idea of the size of Hotu-matua's canoe, stating that it was 90 feet long and 6 feet deep (215, p. 528).

173 At sight of land, Hotu-matua asked his forerunners whether the interior was good. Ira answered with the cryptic sentence, "Kaina kino, hoki tai papaku, ka rivariva, tai ua ka okoko" (27, p. 40). Tepano interprets these words to mean, approximately, "The land is bad, when the tide is low it is good, when it is high we are decimated [?]." Routledge (194, p. 278) translates them, "When the sea is low we die few, when the sea is high we die many." She applies this statement to the land from which Hotu-matua came, but in the native text it seems clear that the words of Hotu-matua concern only the newly discovered land. Brown (27, p. 40) apparently tried to explain the words of Hotu-matua in the light of a catastrophe by inventing the following incident:

> While Ira was speaking with Hotu-matua the other forerunners were making wreaths for the king. After upbraiding Ira for his bad report, they declared that they were on their way back to Marae-renga. When Hotu-matua heard about their intention, he uttered his mysterious sentence about the tide. Brown sees in it a direct reference to a catastrophe which submerged Marae-renga. Despite Hotu-matua's advice, the four men set out for their home country.

There is some uncertainty as to who led the canoe which accompanied Hotu-matua. Routledge (194, p. 278) calls him Hinelilu, and his wife is Avarepua. Hinelilu, more correctly Hineriru, is probably the king Hinariru mentioned in Thomson's list as the fifth *ariki* (table 2, following p. 89). According to Thomson (215, p. 528), Hotu-matua's wife, Vakai, set out in one of the canoes "to explore the coast to the northwest while the other canoe, in charge of the king, rounded the island to the southeast." But this is not evidence that the second canoe was under the command of the chiefess. The native text reproduced here stresses the point that the second canoe was that of Tuu-ko-ihu, one of the most popular characters in Easter Island folklore. Although Thomson does not mention him, Tuu-ko-ihu, who, in a sense, is the culture

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hero of Easter Island, was very likely the leader of the second canoe. Otherwise it would be hard to explain why the first authors to record the legendary discovery of Easter Island confused Hotu-matua and Tuu-ko-ihu. Even in Routledge's version (194, p. 278) he is mentioned as one of Hotu-matua's followers. 173 ●

When in 1868 Palmer (171, p. 180) inquired about the origin of the Easter Islanders, he seems to have been more impressed by the character of Tuu-ko-ihu than by that of Hotu-matua. Speaking of the first people who came to the island, Gana (86, p. 31) mentions as their chief or king, "Hatu or Tucuyo." Although inaccurate in attributing the general leadership of the expedition to Tuu-ko-ihu, these fragmentary traditions recorded at an early date, point out the traditional importance of Tuu-ko-ihu.

"First landing," says Thomson (215, p. 528), "was made on the islet of Motu-nui, on the north coast, and there the first food was cooked that had been tasted for one hundred and twenty days." Other sources of information pass over the episode, while they affirm that Hotu-matua must have stopped on or near the islet, since he exchanged words with the six explorers at Orongo. At this point the canoes parted. The canoe of Hotu-matua rounded the island to the southeast, and the second ship followed the coast to the northwest. The canoes met again at sea, not far from the sandy beach of Anakena. Hotu-matua, turning the point called Vai-mahaki, noticed that the second canoe had the advantage and would land first. He cast a spell which stopped the vessel, and thus he was first ashore. He took his canoe to the little cove of Hira-moko in the bay of Anakena, and later the second canoe, which had been delayed, was beached in another cove called the "Bath of Tuu-ko-ihu", in front of the ahu Hanga-ohio.

The legend still transmits the formula of the spell cast by Hotu-matua: "Haka mau te konekone, haka mau te konekone." Two different translations of this obscure sentence were suggested to me: "Make the paddles fixed" (make them slow) and "Hurry up in order to arrive first." Routledge (194, p. 278) summarizes the whole situation with the following words: "Hotu-matua said to himself a word which made his own boat go fast and Hinelilu's go slow."

The legend does not tell whether the two canoes agreed, when they parted, to meet at Anakena or whether they met by chance near the bay, both attracted by the smooth, sandy beach. In none of the versions is there an allusion to the previous discovery of Anakena by the six explorers, who had considered the bay fit for the king.

Anakena designates the month of August, and Thomson says that the bay of Anakena was so named because Hotu-matua and Tuu-ko-ihu arrived there in August. In Thomson's list of kings the name Anakena is applied to the forty-eighth king.

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173 All sources agree that just after Hotu-matua's canoe had reached shore, Vakai (Vakai-a-hiva) gave birth to a boy, the *ariki*, Tuu-ma-heke, but my version is the only one which connects the birth of Tuu-ma-heke with that of a girl, Ava-reipua, who was born to Tuu-ko-ihu's wife at the same moment. Ava-reipua is given by Routledge (194, p. 278) as the wife of Hineriru the leader of the second canoe, and by Roussel (190, p. 357) as the wife of Hotu-matua. Although there is some possibility that Ava-reipua was the wife of Tuu-ko-ihu, the births of a girl and boy, both children of the canoe leaders, taking place at the same time cannot be merely an incident invented by my informant. Such parallel situations are too characteristic of this type of narrative not to be accepted as ancient.

[844] The cutting of the navel and rites performed by Tuu-ko-ihu over the head of Tuu-ma-heke (p. 65) had a double importance. They fixed the pattern for all future birth ceremonies until a very recent date, and perhaps they were connected with the name Pito-te-henua which is sometimes considered the original name for Easter Island. Whether this name has some link with the legend of the cutting of the navel cord of Tuu-ma-heke is difficult to ascertain, but a passage in the native version of Hotu-matua's story conveys that meaning.

Hotu-matua was credited with having brought to Easter Island not only the cultivated plants but many plants which grew on the island long before the Polynesians occupied it, and all the land animals known to the natives. The plants imported by Hotu-matua are enumerated by Roussel (190, p. 357): taro, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, *toro-miro*, *ngaoho*, and sugar cane. With the exception of the *toro-miro* and the *ngaoho*, these plants were actually introduced by the Polynesians from their original home. Ash trees (*marikuru*, not true ash) and sandalwood were considered by the natives as endemic species, but Tepano places them among the plants which were aboard Hotu-matua's canoes. Brown (27, p. 41) refers to a man, Koteke (ko Teke), who "was the guardian of the plants and seeds." Having forgotten the sandalwood (*naunau*) he was obliged to go back to Marae-renga to fetch it. Thomson's early account (215, p. 526) includes potatoes, tobacco, and "the seeds of various plants, including the paper mulberry and the toro-miro trees." This last list shows that at an early date the natives attributed to their first king plants which they had only recently received from Europeans. The same tendency is manifest in regard to domestic animals—pigs which were given to the islanders by Europeans are said to have been brought by the first immigrants as well as the fowls which the first discoverers found on the island. In his desire to heighten the glory of Hotu-matua, Tepano tried to convince me that cats and dogs were among the animals which came at that remote period. He alluded also to the *kekepu*, a rather strange beast which was very like a "pig or a cow" but is probably a large turtle which has disappeared from the

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island. On the other hand, pigs, cattle, horses, and sheep were admittedly of very recent introduction.

Many other things were probably assigned to the first king, among them the origin of the signs on the tablets. Thomson's tradition (215, p. 514) asserts that "Hotu-matua, the first king possessed the knowledge of this written language, and brought with him to the island sixty-seven tablets containing allegories, traditions, genealogical tablets, and proverbs relating to the land from which he had migrated." Routledge (194, p. 279) attributes the knowledge of reading and writing to Hineriru who "wrote rongo-rongo on paper he brought with him." Hotu-matua and Tuu-ko-ihu were, in a sense, culture heroes, and there must have been a general tendency to make them the originators of many inventions and sacred institutions.

Immediately after landing the people started to till the soil, planting the cuttings and tubers brought from Marae-renga. During the first three months, while they waited for the crops to be harvested, "they subsisted entirely upon fish, turtle, and the nuts of a creeping-plant found growing along the ground, which was named moki-oone" (215, p. 527).

### THE FIGHT WITH OROI

The next episode in Hotu-matua's legend has been recorded in almost identical terms by three main sources. It may be called the "fight with Oroi and the killing of Oroi." Oroi was Hotu-matua's most bitter enemy: Thomson (215, p. 528) makes him the unsuccessful rival of Hotu-matua's brother (Machaa), and Routledge (194, p. 279) says that he was the killer of Hotu-matua's children in Marae-renga.

Ko Oroi he piko mai i runga i te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu, i oho mai ai mai hiva mai Marae-renga. He piko mai Oroi i raro i te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu. He oho mai tau vaka era, he tomo ki uta ki Hanga-o-hio. He oho mai te tangata, he marere. He oho ki uta i te po, i piko mai nei Oroi. He tomo rua ki uta, he noho i uta nei. Ku tomo takoa ana te vaka o Hotu-matua. He tomo ana, he poreko ana ko Tuu-ma-heke te poki, i poreko a Hotu-matua i te kainga nei ko te Pito-o-te-henua. He poreko rua hoki te poki a Tuu-ko-ihu, ariki tamahahine ko Ava-reipua te ariki a Tuu-ko-ihu, o toona vaka. He noho te tangata. He oho atu Tuu-ko-ihu, he hakahiti i te ata o te ariki o Tuu-ma-heke. He oho a Tuu-ko-ihu ki te pito nanangi o te ariki o Tuu-ma-heke. He oti te nanangi e Tuu-ko-ihu, he hoki, he nanangi i te pito o taana ariki tamahahine ko Ava-reipua.

Oroi concealed himself in the boat of Tuu-ko-ihu,[9] when he came from abroad from Marae-renga. Oroi was hidden in the interior of the boat of Tuu-ko-ihu. This boat arrived, it landed at Hanga-o-hio. The people came [ashore], they scattered. Oroi went ashore at night, hiding. He also landed on the shore, he stayed ashore. The canoe of Hotu-matua had landed also. When he landed, the child Tuu-ma-heke was born to Hotu-matua in the land [called] the Navel-of-the-land. A child was also born to Tuu-ko-ihu, the chiefess Ava-reipua of the chief Tuu-ko-ihu, on his canoe. The people settled down. Tuu-ko-ihu went, he made magic for the chief Tuu-ma-heke. Tuu-ko-ihu came to bite the navel cord of the chief Tuu-ma-heke. Tuu-ko-ihu finished the cutting, he returned, he bit the navel cord of his chiefess Ava-reipua.

[9] According to Thomson, the boat of Hotu-matua.

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He oti te nanangi, he rotu. He hue te tangata a Hotu-matua, te tangata a Tuu-ko-ihu. Ai ka noho a Oroi, kai tikea.

He porekoreko hakahou te poki o Hotu-matua, he nunui. He turu te nga poki a Hotu-matua, he hohopu i te kona ko Roto-kahi ira te kona hohopu o tau nga poki era a Hotu-matua. He tomo ki uta, he momoe te nga poki. He vai i te tuaivi ki te ra, he haka mahana i te tuaivi ki te raa. He noho era i te ra ananake. Ka ui no mai a Oroi. He tuu ki tetahi ra, he oho mai a Oroi, he piko atu i uta. He hohopu no ana tau nga poki era a Hotu-matua e ono. He totomo ki uta mai te hopu-hanga. He vai i te tuaivi ki te raa. He hauru tau nga poki era, ku ngaroa ana te mahana. Ku rerehu ana, i te vai kava oira i hauru ai.

He oho atu Oroi, e too mai i te vaero ura, he haka uru i roto ki te kauha. He kume mai i te kokoma ki haho o te nga poki. A ono nga poki he mamate. He po aika ui no mai Hotu-matua ki te maea o Roto-kani-pahenga poki oonga era. He oho mai Hotu-matua. He ui ika tuu atu nei. Ku mamate ana tau nga poki era i haho te kokoma. Ananake nga poki i haho te kokoma. He ui Hotu-matua a Oroi tau anga era kokoma kumekume era ki haho. Kai maa Hotu-matua ia Oroi. He manau era Hotu-matua i hiva ana i Marae-renga a Oroi, ika ui atu Hotu-matua ko tau anga era kumekume kokoma era a Oroi i hiva i Marae-renga. He ki Hotu-matua hokotahi no, e ki era: "Tute nui no mai te taua ia koe, e Oroi e, mai hiva, mai te kainga." He tangi mo taana nga poki, ku mamate ana.

He tere mai Oroi, he noho, he piko i Hanga-o-honu. He tuu ki toona tau; he oho mai era te ariki ko Hotu-matua, he rarama era. E ui era i te tangata i te hare koro, i te paina, i te hare hakama rongorongo, i te hare hakama tau, i te hare hakama kohau o te tangata mate, i te hare hakama o te ranga, ki te hare kohau kiri tuku ki te atua kia Rarai-a-hova.

When the cutting was finished, there was a gathering. The people of Hotu-matua joined those of Tuu-ko-ihu. Oroi stayed, he was not seen.

Again children were born to Hotu-matua, they grew up. The children of Hotu-matua went down [to the shore], they bathed at a place called Roto-kahi, that was the bathing place of those children of Hotu-matua. They went ashore, they lay down the children. They turned their backs to the sun, to warm their backs in the sun. They used to stay there every day. Oroi was watching them. One day, Oroi came, he concealed himself near the beach. Bathing were those children of Hotu-matua, six in number. They came back to shore after the bathing. They presented their backs to the sun. They fell asleep [when] they felt the warmth. They were drowsy, [and] because of the salt water, they fell asleep.

Oroi came, holding the tail of a crayfish which he introduced into the anus. He pulled out the intestines of the children. All six children died. At evening Hotu-matua was looking at the rocks of Roto-kahi-pahenga, [believing] they were his sons emerging from the water. Hotu-matua came, he saw the bodies there. The children were dead with their intestines outside, all the children had the intestines outside. Hotu-matua recognized the work of Oroi in this pulling out of the intestines. Hotu-matua did not know that Oroi [was here]. Hotu-matua thought Oroi was far away in Marae-renga, but he had seen Oroi pulling out intestines in a distant land in Marae-renga. Hotu-matua said to himself, he said: "You are going on with our fight, O Oroi, from abroad to here." He cried for his children who were dead.

Oroi ran away and stayed concealed in Hanga-o-honu. One year passed; the king, Hotu-matua, went on an inspection tour. He saw the people in the *koro* houses, at the *paina* feasts, at the houses where they taught the *rongorongo*, at the houses where they studied the calculation signs, at the houses with the sticks [records] of the dead people, at the houses where they studied the tablet for making prisoners, at the houses for prayers dedicated to the god, Rarai-a-hova.

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He ui mai era te mata o Oroi ki te ariki kia Hotu-matua ka vari ro ahaha aro o te henua. He ui era Hotu-matua raua ko Tuu-ko-ihu. He hiri Oroi i te taura kumi mo te ika ko te ariki. He tuu ki tona ra, he too a Oroi, he oho i te pu o te taura hiri era, he haka pu i vaenga o te ara, he pua hai hatuoi mauku. He pu mai a Hotu-matua, he ui Oroi kia Hotu-matua. He ki Oroi i roto ia ia ana: "He mate koe ia au." He oho mai Hotu-matua. He tike ra e Hotu-matua tau me puapua era hai hatuoi mauku. Ku maa ana te ariki a Hotu-matua, he oho koro-iti mai. He rei i te tapa o te taura a Oroi, i rei era. He ka riti e Oroi i te taura, ina kai hiohio te vae o Hotu-matua. He ki hoko-tahino te ariki a Hotu-matua: "He mate a koe ia au i tona raa." He oho Hotu-matua, he tu ki Ruahaua, ki Orohie. He ui ana i te tangata ki Hanga-te-tenga, he hoki mai. Ku haka pu ana Oroi i te taura mai roto mai toona hare ana, i haka pu, i oho ro mai ai te roaroa o te taura. He haka pu i te ara mo te ariki ko Hotu-matua. He pu hakahou mai o Hotu-matua. He tuu ki runga ki tau taura era a Oroi. He ui Hotu-matua i tau taura era. He oho te vae o Hotu-matua, he eke, he rei. He haro Oroi, he hinga, he haka hinga Hotu-matua. He tahuti mai Oroi, he ea atu a Hotu-matua. He too mai ia Oroi, he tingai. He mate Oroi, he ariki Oroi o hiva o Marae-renga.

Oroi saw the king, Hotu-matua, going to the four parts of the land. He saw that Hotu-matua was with Tuu-ko-ihu. Oroi twisted a long rope to capture the person of the king. One day Oroi took with him his rope in which he had made a noose, he put the noose in the middle of a path, covered it with soil and grass. Hotu-matua came along, Oroi saw Hotu-matu. Oroi said within himself: "You will be killed by me." Hotu-matua came. Hotu-matua saw the thing covered with soil and grass. Hotu-matua knew what it was and walked very slowly. He stepped beside the rope of Oroi, he stepped there. Oroi pulled the rope with force, but the foot of Hotu-matua was not taken in it. The king, Hotu-matua said to himself: "You will be killed by me some day." Hotu-matua went on, he arrived at Ruahaua, at Orohie. He visited the people at Hanga-te-tenga, [and] he came back. Meanwhile, Oroi had made a noose in his rope in the interior of his house, he made the noose, the rope extended a long way. The noose was in the path of the king, Hotu-matua. Hotu-matua came by again. He arrived where Oroi's rope was. Hotu-matua noticed the rope there. Hotu-matua's foot moved, he lifted it, and stepped on the rope. Oroi pulled, he fell, Hotu-matua let himself fall. Oroi ran up, Hotu-matua got up. He seized Oroi [and] killed him. Thus died Oroi, a king from abroad from Marae-renga.

Thomson does not mention the episode of the slaughtering of the six boys which was connected with some rocks lying not far from Anakena. In Routledge's account, the boys lay in the sun after taking a bath, and Oroi killed them by pulling out their intestines with a crayfish tail. The children were discovered on the rocks only at low tide when their heads emerged from the water. This interpretation throws some light on my text which is rather vague on this particular point. The native version given above refers only to the massacre of Hotu-matua's six boys, whereas Thomson and Routledge state that Oroi "murdered every unprotected person who came his way."

In the story of Hotu-matua as told by Thomson (215, p. 531), Oroi is "captured in a net thrown by Hotu-matua and pounded to death." This detail probably arises from a misinterpretation, since both Routledge and I heard only about the noose. Our versions agree except that in her account, instead of being helped by Tuu-ko-ihu, Hotu-matua is assisted by his daughter and son-in-law. A new element in the legend is added by Routledge (194, p. 279):

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173 "When the corpse of Oroi was put in the oven to cook, it came to life again. So then they had to take him over to the other side of the island to where the ahu is called Oroi, and there he cooked quite satisfactorily, and they ate him."

For the rest of Hotu-matua's story, we depend entirely on previous sources. Hotu-matua resigned in favor of his son, Tuu-ma-heke. The legend may reflect the custom which obliged each king to yield his power to his married son, but perhaps, as Routledge (194, p. 279) writes, he really "quarrelled with his wife and his son Tuu-ma-heke." He retired to the top of Rano-kao where he lived on the south side of the crater, that opposite to Orongo. Thomson (215, p. 527) says only that Hotu-matua, at an advanced age and stricken with a mortal illness, summoned all the chiefs to counsel. "He nominated his eldest son as his successor and it was ordained that the descent of the kings should always be through the eldest son." After having appointed his successor, Hotu-matua divided the island into districts which were apportioned to his several sons, who were the ancestors of the various tribes. At the end of the Hotu-matua legend, Routledge (194, p. 280) records the following episode:

> [Hotu-matua] was old and blind and became also very ill; his elder sons came to see him, but he kept asking for Hotu-iti, the youngest, who was his favorite. When Marama appeared, the old man felt the calf of his leg, and said, "You are not Hotu-iti, you are Marama; where is Hotu-iti?" Koro-orongo answered as if he were Hotu-iti, and said, "I am here", but he lied, and his father took hold of his leg, and said again, "You are not Hotu-iti"; and the same thing happened with Ngaure, and Raa, and Hamea, and the others; and at last came Hotu-iti, and Hotu-matua knew him, for he was small, and his leg was slight, and said to him, "You are Hotu-iti, of Mata-iti, and your descendants shall prosper and survive all others." And he said to Kotuu, "You are Kotuu, of Mata-nui, and your descendants shall multiply like the shells of the sea, and the reeds of the crater, and the pebbles of the beach, but they shall die and shall not remain."

The same episode was told to me in connection with another legendary character, Rau-nui, father of Hetereki, a famous *matatoa* or warrior (p. 138).

> The old Rau-nui, who has been knocked down by his enemies wants to see his first-born son before he dies. The other brothers try to deceive the old man, who recognizes his first-born by seizing his leg in his hand. The leg of Hetereki is so big that his hands cannot join around them. The dying Rau-nui promises his son that he shall never be overcome in a fight.

The episodes are identical but for the physical characteristic of the sons' legs. The same legendary motif might have been used for two different narratives, but I am inclined to believe that the episode originally concerned Rau-nui. Otherwise the whole legend of Hetereki has little meaning. Furthermore, if it belonged to the Hotu-matua legend, it would be remembered by the natives to whom Hotu-matua is still a popular figure. Of the entire episode one detail must be stressed—Hotu-iti's stature which would account for his name, Hotu-the-little. This characteristic of his person, together with the favored position of the Mata-iti (Small tribes) of Hotu-iti has perhaps facilitated the introduction of this element borrowed from another legend.

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There is no suggestion of foreign influence at the end of the legend, as given by Routledge (194, p. 280): 173

And when he had said this he left his house, and went along to the cliff where the edge of the crater is narrowest, and stood on it by two stones, and he looked over the islet of Motu-nui towards Marae-renga, and called to four aku-aku in his old home across the sea, "Kuihi, Kuaha, Tongau, Opapako, make the cock crow for me," and the cock crew in Marae-renga, and he heard it across the sea; that was his death signal, so he said to his sons, "Take me away." So they took him back to his house, and he died. Thus Hotu-matua came to his end and was buried at Akahanga.

## The War between the Long-ears and the Short-ears

He ki te Hanau-eepe ki te Hanau-momoko: "Ka oho mai korua ki amo tatou i te maea ki kaho ki te tai." He hakahoki te Hanau-momoko ki te Hanau-eepe: "Ina eko amo te maea mai runga mai te henua nei, hakarere no mo te kai, mo te rau, mo te maika, mo te toa, mo hakamamae ana tupu." He haka rere, ina kai amo. He haka rere ro avai. He noho. He manau te Hanau-eepe mo te Hanau-momoko o te tae hauu i te anga i te ahu He Hanau-eepe ana te anga tahi i te ahu oira i riri ai roto te manava mo te Hanau-momoko.

I Poike te nohongo o te Hanau-eepe. He keri i te rua ava kumi mai Potu-te-rangi te potu ki Mahatua, o te rua potu. He oti te keri i tau rua era, he too mai i te hukahuka, he hoa ki raro ki te rua, ka tomoro ki te rua (ararua) potu o te hukahuka.

Etahi vie Hanau-momoko oona te hare o Potu-te-rangi. Kai maa te Hanau-momoko mo ai te rua era i keri era i hoa era te hukahuka ki raro. O tau vie era Hanau-momoko era noho era o Potu-te-rangi o taana kenu Hanau-eepe i vaananga: "Te umu nei i keri nei mo korua mo te Hanau-momoko." He maa tau vie era. He noho, he po, he turu mai tau vie era Hanau-momoko era, he ki ki te tangata Hanau-momoko: "Ka ui korua ki tooku hare era, aira te korua ara ana iri atu korua. 'Anira i te po, anira ka tutu te umu e te Hanau-eepe ko korua te ika. Anira ka iri atu, ka hao, ka ki te tangata, ka iri tahi atu, ka hao, ka vari ro te maunga a Poike? Ai ka patu ro mai, ka umu ro atu ki raro ki te rua, ka hakahoki ro atu te umu era, ka tutu era e te Hanau-eepe mo korua."

The Long-ears said to the Short-ears: "Come, let us carry stones to the sea-shore." The Short-ears answered the Long-ears: "We do not want to carry away the stones on the ground, leave them for our food, for the [sweet potato] leaves, for the bananas trees, for the sugar cane, to make them suffer and grow." They left, they did not carry. They did not carry them away, they left them. They stayed. The Long-ears resented that the Short-ears did not help them in building the ahu. They worked alone, because of that they were angry within at the Short-ears. 173 539

The Long-ears lived in Poike. They dug a long pit from Potu-te-rangi to Mahatua. When they finished digging that pit, they brought firewood, threw it down into the ditch, strewing the pit from one end to the other.

A woman of the Short-ears had her house in Potu-te-rangi. The Short-ears did not know for whom the Long-ears were digging the pit and putting wood in it. That woman of the Short-ears who lived in Potu-te-rangi had a husband of the Long-ears who told her: "This pit that is being dug is for you, for the Short-ears." Now that woman knew. She waited, at night, that woman of the Short-ears came and said to the people of the Short-ears: "Look at my house, it is there you shall follow your path. Next day the Long-ears will light the oven for your corpses. When you get there, form yourselves into a line and tell everybody to join, to form a line, encircle the mountain of Poike. Commence killing, throw them into the pit, change the oven to your advantage, cook the Long-ears for yourselves."

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He po, he hoki te vie ki toona hare. He ki: "He horau atu korua." He iri te vie, he noho. He too mai i te kete, he raranga ai ka ui no mai te mata o te vie ki te tangata. He iri atu te tangata i te ahiahi mo kirokiro. He paka tahi atu te Hanau-momoko, he noho te tangata rae i te hare o tau vie raranga kete era. He hao te tangata, ko piko ko ia, he hao, he oho ki tua. He vari mai ki Kikiriroa, ki Maunga Teatea, te Hanau-momoko. E hao era, e oho mai era, he topa mai te tangata potu ki Mahatua. He noho, he moe, he pipiko. He tehe mai te ata popohanga, he ea mai te Hanau-momoko, he tute mai i te Hanau-eepe ki raro ki tau umu keri era e raua.

Ana he tutu te, he pukoukou mai roto mai te hare, he tetere. He oho mai ananake te vie, te poki o te Hanau-eepe, e oho mai era, e tetere mai era, he tuu ki tupuaki ki te umu. He maroa te tangata, te vie, te poki tuu rae ki runga ki te umu. Ai te taua o te Hanau-momoko e oho no mai era koro iti. Ahe ana tetere te Hanau-eepe i te ura o te ahi, ina he ara mo tetere? He tata mai te tangata te taua. He rerere roa vai ki raro ki te umu, ai te ura, e rere era o te umu, he rererere roa vai te Hanau-eepe. He mamate te tangata, te vie, te poki ina i toe.

Erua no Hanau-eepe tangata i rere mai e runga ana a te tangata mamate, era i rere mai ai ararua nga ngata, he tetere mai. He tute takoa mai te Hanau-momoko he tuu ki Anakena o uta. He momoko ki roto ki te Ana-vai. He too mai te Hanau-momoko i te akave, he verovero ki tau nga Hanau-eepe era. He mee mai mai roto mai tau ana era e vero atu era hai akave, he mee mai mai roto "Ororoin." He onga a te rua haha, he mee "Ororoin". He oti, he mate etahi. He ki tetahi: "Tangata honui ha hakarere mahaki hokotahi no. Mo aha a i tingai ai? E hakarere."

He hoki te taua, he ui i tau umu era a tikea te tangata e ora no a he ui' ina. He too mai, he tanu atu. He oti, he hoki mai te Hanau-momoko. He noho, he noho tau Hanau-eepe era etahi. He piri ki te tangata, he noho i Hanga-o-honu. He

At night, the woman turned back to her house. She said: "Now you hurry up." The woman went up [to her house] and stayed. She took a basket, she was plaiting with her eyes on the men. The men got up at sunset, when it was already dark. All the Short-ears gathered, the first stayed at the house of the woman who was plaiting the basket. The men formed, concealed themselves, they formed a line, they went to the back. The Short-ears went around Kikiriroa and Mount Teatea. They drew up in order, they came, marched down to the point of Mahatua. They stayed, they slept, they concealed themselves. When dawn appeared, the Short-ears arose, they chased the Long-ears into the ditch that they had dug themselves.

When they were chased, they dashed out of their houses, they ran away. All the wives, the children of the Long-ears went, they ran away, they arrived near the earth oven. The men, the women and the children stopped when the first arrived above the earth oven. The war party of the Short-ears came very slowly. Where could the Long-ears escape from the flames of the fire, there was no way to fly? The men of the war party came close. The Long-ears were jumping into the earth oven, in the flames they jumped into the earth oven, the Long-ears went on jumping. Men, women, and children died, none was left.

Two of the Long-ear people jumped over the dead bodies, these two men jumped and fled. The Short-ears chased. They arrived at Anakena, on the land side. They hid in Ana-vai (Cave-of-water). The Short-ears took a stick and they thrust at those Long-ears with it. When they were struck in the cave with that stick, they cried from within, "Ororoin." They showed their faces at one of the entrances and cried "Ororoin." It was finished, one of the two died. One man said, "Important men, let us spare this man, now alone. Why kill him? Leave him."

The war party returned, they looked at the earth oven to see whether there were some still living, but there was none. They took them, they covered them with earth. When they finished, the Short-ears went back. He stayed, that one Long-ear re-

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moe ki te vie tau Hanau-eepe era. Noho era i roto i te ana, ka ki ro era, "Ka hakarere mahaki etahi."

Korohua aku i ui, ko Arone Arapu, te tangata i ui e au. E rua poki e ora mai nei he toto o te Hanau-eepe; etahi i Hanga-roa, etahi i te i te hare o te repera; te poki o te toto o te Hanau-eepe.

mained. He joined the other people and settled at Hanga-o-honu. This Long-ear married a woman. He was the man of the cave about whom they said, "Let us spare this one only."

I saw an old man, Arone Arapu, the man I saw. There are now two men living who are of the blood of the Long-ears; one is in Hanga-roa and one in the leper settlement; children of the blood of the Long-ears.

The legend, as told here, does not give the origin of the Long-ears, but in a version of the story of Hotu-matua, my informant mentioned the Long-ears and the Short-ears as part of Hotu-matua's crew. Kilimutu, an old man living at the time of Routledge's visit, told her (194, p. 281) that "Hotu-matua and those in his boat were the Short-ears and Hinelilu and the crew of the second boat the Long-ears." When Routledge asked him "how it was that the two came together, he merely replied that it was in the same way as we ourselves had various nationalities on the yacht." Three other old men explained to Routledge (194, p. 281) that "The Long Ears came into existence on the island through the 'mana' of the third ariki."

Thomson (215, pp. 528-529) and Vives Solar (221) refer to Long-ears and Short-ears as different races between which the island was equally divided. The Long-ears had the eastern part of the island and were concentrated in the headland of Poike and in Hanga-nui. The numerous house foundations scattered throughout that region testify to former occupation. Vives Solar (221, p. 117), whose information is not always reliable, says that the boundaries between the region of the Long-ears and that of the Short-ears followed a line which began at Ahu-te-pito-paukura and divided the Rano-aroi, ending at Vaihu. The Short-ears had the whole western part of the island and lived at Hanga-roa, Mataveri, Vinapu, and Vaihu. Vives Solar (221, p. 117) attributes to the Long-ears the carving of the statues and the building of the ahus. Their houses were of stone (*hare pacnga*), while those of the Short-ears were made of light frame and straw (*hare puhipuhi*). While the Short-ears were busy tilling the soil and planting food, the Long-ears constructed impressive monuments. The Short-ears used caves and natural holes for graves. Vives Solar's comparison between Short-ears and Long-ears seems to be based more on personal inferences or misinterpretations than on native evidence.

The fight between Long-ears and Short-ears was not chronologically connected with any period by my informant. Kilimuti, Routledge's authority, stated that the destruction of the Long-ears took place in the time of Hotu-matua's children. Thomson places their extinction at approximately the same time.

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173 I was given two different versions of the cause of the struggle: first, that the Short-ears refused to build the ahus that the Long-ears were planning, and second that the Short-ears would not clear the island of the stones which covered it. Vives Solar (221, p. 118) says that the fight was caused by the refusal of the Short-ears to build an ahu for a Long-ear who died in Vai-mata. Routledge (194, p. 280) gives the following version:

> Now the Long Ears (*Hanau epe*) and Short Ears (*Hanau momoku*) lived together mixed up all over the land, but one of the Long Ears, Ko Ita by name, who lived at Orongo, had in his house the bodies of thirty boys, whom he had killed to eat. Among his victims were the seven sons of one man, Ko Pepi. Ko Pepi went mad, and ran round and round till he fell down, and his brothers took their *matua* and killed the Long Ears at Vinapu and at Orongo. They were joined by the other Short Ears till the Long Ears took refuge in the eastern headland, across which they then dug a ditch and filled it with brushwood in order to make a fire in self-defence.

Although the proper names give her explanation an appearance of authenticity, I think that Routledge has not discovered the real and most ancient source of the conflict. The geography of the island leads me to think that the anger of the Long-ears was provoked by the refusal of the Short-ears to take away the stones of the island. The Long-ears, according to my version, were concentrated in the eastern headland of the island, called Poike. This region, formed by the ashy materials of the volcano Puakatiki, is not strewn with stones, and thus contrasts greatly with the rugged plains at its foot. The Long-ears probably wanted all the island to be as clean of stones as their own country.

173, 183 The ditch dug by the Long-ears is still pointed out by the natives. It is a "gully running from north to south across the island, with the snout of the lava flow on one side and the much higher sea-cut cliffs on the other" (50, p. 33). At this place the formerly separate island of Poike was reached by the lava from Te Revaka. The ground suggests a partially filled ditch which inevitably aroused the curiosity of the natives who originated a tale accounting for this unusual formation.

173 Both Thomson (215) and Routledge (194) figure the ditch filled with brushwork as a defense system into which the Long-ears "arranged to drive their enemies, when the bush wood was to be set on fire and every man exterminated." This interpretation is possible, but there is no explanation as to why a fire should have been kindled in the ditch. My informant's version, in which he says that the ditch was an *umu* (earth oven) in which the Long-ears intended to cook the Short-ears, seems to me to be clear.

In Vives Solar's version and in mine, the woman who shows the Short-ears the way to reverse their position is essential; in Routledge's version, her intervention is entirely episodical. The Short-ears were drawn in array in front of the ditch and would not have passed if an old woman had not shown them the way around, allowing the Short-ears to turn the flanks of their

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enemies. Vives Solar (221, pp. 119-120) presents the following details which are not in my version: 173

The ditch was under the care of a Long-ear called Toi who had his house at the end of the ditch on the south coast. Toi was married to Angu-neru, a Short-ear woman. Unaided, she discovered the murderous plan of the Long-ears and revealed it to her relatives. The Short-ears decided to strike first, and the signal for attack was to be given by the woman who would plait a basket in front of her house. This incident may belong to the original version since it figures in my text, although it is not connected with the plot.

Thomson's early account ends with the complete destruction of the Long-ears, but the episode of the two Long-ears who escape and take refuge in a cave near Anakena is told by Knoche (122) and by Routledge, whose brief details conform with my version. The slight discrepancies in Knoche's version are due to a free interpretation or to misunderstandings. According to him, the two Long-ears are not besieged in the cave but are concealed in it. They imitate the cries of the birds to keep the people away from their hiding place. "Oroine" is not the noise they make but the name of one of the men and Arone is one of his descendants.

Exceptional stress has been laid on this legend as one of the few traditions which seem to indicate the existence of a native population on Easter Island previous to the Polynesian migration. Whatever is the accepted tradition, the two peoples are represented as either having arrived together or as having lived side by side on the island. Routledge (194, p. 294) recognizes that "there is nothing in the story of the Long Ears and the Short Ears which indicates that the first were an earlier race." However, she adopts as a working hypothesis the following assumption (194, p. 298): The Long-ears were negroids who brought with them the custom of distending the ear. This first migratory wave was superseded by the ancestors of the present Polynesians who adopted this deformation after having destroyed their predecessors on the island. 173 174

There are many arguments in opposition to such a view, but here I shall discuss the problem only as it bears upon the myth. Great historical significance might be attributed to this legend if the Long-ears had not been the grandfathers or great-grandfathers of the modern inhabitants of the island. When Cook, La Pérouse, and the other explorers of the eighteenth century visited the island, most of the population, both male and female, had the lobes of their ears distended by heavy ornaments. This custom prevailed until about 1850. Since the legend is partially an etiological myth, it is likely that the motif of the Long-ears has been added recently when the distending of the ear lobes was going out of fashion. The primitive version referred perhaps to a people living in Poike that bullied the others and were finally burned in the big earth oven. [301]

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173 My conclusion is that this tale presents no definite evidence of the existence of two different races on the island. It has been inspired partially by the native desire to explain local geographical characteristics; very likely the fight between Long-ears and Short-ears is a fairly recent theme.

## The War Between Tuu and Hotu-iti

173 References to intertribal wars are frequent in Easter Island folklore. They reflect real conflicts between tribes (*mata*) whose quarrels and feuds ended only after the advent of the missionaries.

The legend of Kainga and Poie may have a historical background. No doubt it preserves the memory of a general war between the eastern and western districts, which was fought with great tenacity and cruelty. The natives, of course, consider all episodes of this tradition as true, and Kariera, the informant of Routledge (194, p. 289), referred these events to the time of King Nga-ara's grandfather, the eighteenth century. However, they might have occurred in the settlement period if Tuu-ko-ihu, the expert who built Poie's canoe, is the same Tuu-ko-ihu who came with Hotu-matua. There is no clue to chronology in the legend.

### I

173 539 Erua kope o Makita, o Rokeaua, he oho, he tu ki Hotu-iti, he tu ki te hare o Kainga i Hanga-nui. He uru ki roto ki te hare ararua kope, he hakaaroha ki a Kainga. He hakaaroha mai Kainga ki a Makita, ki a Rokeaua. He rangi Kainga: "Ka uru ki roto ki te hare." He uru Makita, Rokeaua, he noho. He momoe ararua nga io, he hauru. He ka Kainga i te umu, he tute mai i te moa, he tingai, he umu i te huhuru, he rara, he hakate i te kokoma, he tata i te kokoma, he hatui ki runga ki te maea. He oho te maanga hangai a Kainga, he mau i te kokoma ma Makita, ma Rokeaua. He tuu ki roto ki te hare tau maanga hangai era. He vaai i te kokoma hatui ki a Rokeaua. He ui mai Rokeaua: "He aha te mee na?" He hakaholi te maanga hangai a Kainga, "He kokoma moa." He ki mai Rokeaua, etahi tangata e hauru ro(a) ana ko Makita. He ki Rokeaua: "Kaihanga maua mee, tae kai kokoma moa maua, mee kai kokoma tangata no maua."

He to hakahou tau maanga hangai era a Kainga i tau hai kokoma moa era. He hoki, he ki ki a Kainga: "Pe nei e ki mai era mee tae kai kokoma moa raua. Mee kai kokoma tangata no te e ki mai era

Two young men, Makita and Rokeaua, went to Hotu-iti and arrived at the house of Kainga in Hanga-nui. Both young men entered the house and saluted Kainga. Kainga welcomed Makita and Rokeaua. Kainga said: "Come into the house." Makita and Rokeaua went in and stayed. The two young men lay down and slept. Kainga lighted the oven, he took a fowl, killed it, plucked the feathers, singed the down, cleaned the entrails, washed the entrails and roasted them upon the stones. An orphan adopted by Kainga took the entrails for Makita and Rokeaua. The adopted orphan entered the house. He gave the roasted entrails to Rokeaua. Rokeaua asked: "What is that?" The adopted orphan of Kainga answered: "The chicken's entrails." Rokeaua spoke while the other man, Makita, was sleeping. Rokeaua said: "We do not want it, we do not eat chicken entrails, we only eat human entrails."

The adopted orphan of Kainga returned with that chicken's entrails. Returned he said to Kainga, "This is what those said, they do not eat chicken entrails. The thing to eat is human entrails, is

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ki a au." He ki Kainga: "E ku mao a, ka iri, mahaki ka rangi, ka iri mai." He iri tau maanga hangai era. He ea ki runga he rangi: "E maanga rakerake a Kainga, e ka iri koe, ka oho mai." He iri mai, he piri, he ki maanga rakerake a Kainga: "Ka po tahi raa i rangi hakariva ro mai." He tangi: "Ka moe mai te kainga tutae teatea i te mahore, aue te kainga e, ka moe mai raro te kainga tutae teatea i te mahore." Ko tangi ko ia. He tuturu, he tuu ki mua ki te hare ki a Kainga. He oho mai Kainga, he ki: "Ka moe koe ki raro." He moe Kainga poki. He too mai Kainga matua, he tingai ia Kainga poki. He mate, he too, he oho, he rara, he maitaki, he hakatee i te kokoma he hatui i te kokoma.

He mau e tau maanga hangai era e Kainga, he vaai i te kokoma tangata. He ui Rokeaua. He hakaara Rokeaua ia Makita: "Ka ara koe ki te taua kokoma kai." He ara Makita: "He aha mee ena?" He ki Rokeaua: "He kokoma tangata." He ea, he ea Makita, he ihi i te hare atua. He iri, he tere mai, he mataku ku mate a te poki a Kainga. He ea takoa mai Rokeaua, e tere takoa mai. He tikea e Kainga e te hoa poki he rangi: "He hoa korua i te umu hiva ia Pepe, te vaivai parangia Rano-aroi." He too Kainga i taana poki, he hata i runga i te rango, e noho, he rangi ki toona tangata: "K(a) oho mai korua ki iri tatou ki te vaivai parangia, too mai ki te tino mo te vaka too mai." He ki te tangata kia Kainga: "Matu, ki iri." He iri mai ananake ko te tangata, he tuu ki Rano-aroi, he too i te vaivai parangia. He too i te tino mo te vaka. He amoamo. He hoki ananake ki mua ki te hare, he tuku i te vaka i kumi te vaka, e tarai i te tino, he hakamoe te tino, he hahau te miro o te vaka. He tuku, he pae i kumi te vaka. He popo te tangata.

He oho mai Rokeaua ararua ko Makita e opo. He tetere te tangata, te vie, te poki ki haho ki te motu. Ku maa a te tangata o Tuu i te vaka kumi o Kainga. Ko tetere a Anakena, a Kura, a Hangoteo, a Vai-mata, a Maitaki-te-moa, a Ohau, a Ahu-te-peu, a Motu-tautara, Ahu-

what they said to me." Kainga said, "It is good, go up and call [them] to come here." The adopted orphan went up. When he reached the top, he called: "Hey, you, the bad orphan of Kainga, come here." He came and when they met, the bad orphan of Kainga said: "It is the first time you called me to do some good." He began to cry: "Here is spread the land of the white excrements of the *mahore* fish. Alas, the land, alas, here below spreads the land of the white excrements of the *mahore*." He cried. He went down and arrived at the front of Kainga's house. Kainga came out and said: "You stretch yourself here below." Kainga, the child, laid down. Kainga the father acted, he killed Kainga the child. When [the child] was dead, he took his corpse, browned it, made it clean, cleaned the entrails and roasted the intestines.

The other orphan raised by Kainga took in the human intestines. Rokeaua saw them. Rokeaua woke Makita: "You get up, we shall eat intestines." Makita got up: "What is that?" Rokeaua said: "They are man's intestines." Makita slipped out through a hole in the back of the house. He ascended, he fled because the child of Kainga had been killed. Rokeaua also rushed out and fled. Kainga and his boy companion saw and shouted: "You threw away the foreign food of Kainga. The keel is in Pepe, the caulking material in Rano-aroi." Kainga took his child, he laid it on a stretcher and called his people: "Let us go up to get [material for] caulking and a keel for the boat." The men answered, "Let us go up." All the men went up to the Rano-aroi and collected the caulking material. They also took a tree stump for the keel. They carried it on their shoulders. They came back to the front of the house. They built a large canoe. They carved the long piece of wood, they laid down the keel, and tied the boards of the boat. They built it, the large boat was finished. The people got into the boat.

Rokeaua and Makita ran away. The men, women, and children fled to the islands. The people of Tuu had heard of the long boat of Kainga. All the people of Anakena, Kura, Hangoteo, Vai-mata, Maitaki-te-moa, Ohau, Ahu-te-peu, Motu-tautara, Ahu-kihi-rau-mea, Ahu-moko-

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kihi-rau-mea, Ahu-moko-piki, ananake te ahu o Tuu i oti tahi ro ai te tere ki te motu.

He oho te vaka o Kainga, he tuu ki te motu, he mimiro kavarikavari, he hoki, te tuu ki te Kauvae. He rangi Kainga: "Ko oho mai te tangata ki nei ki ui atu au." He oho mai te tangata, he ui Kainga, he rangi: "Ina, ina." He rangi hakahou Kainga: "E hia tangata toe?" "Erua no toe." He rangi Kainga: "Ako raua a ararua, ka oho, ka unga mai." He oho te tangata, he hakaunga mai mai roto mai te ana o Motu-nui. He ui Kainga, he tikea, he rangi: "Ka mau mai na ko raua ararua." He oho mai a Makita a Rokeaua. He too mai ki runga ki te vaka, he too Kainga mo tingai. He ki: "Ina koe, e ko tingai vave ia maua ki tikea mai a Manavai-mariri, te kainga hina turu i te maika." He ki Kainga: "Ka hahati te vaka, matu." He oho te vaka, he tuu ki te Ihu. He tikea a Manavai-mariri. He tangi Rokeaua: "Ka moe mae a Manavai-mariri te kainga hina turu i te maika."

He too mai Kainga, he puapua hai paoa, he mate. He oho te vaka, he tomo ki Hanga-nui. He noho, he kai te tu umu, he ootu te umu. He rara i te ika ko Rokeaua. He oti te rara, he hakatee te kokoma, he hoa, he uru i te umu, he too mai te taueve. He tao ia Rokeaua, he ootu, he maoa, he tuhaa ki toona tangata o Tupahotu ananake i kai ai i tuhahai ki toona tangata.

piki, and of all the ahu of Tuu district fled, to the last one, to the islands.

The boat of Kainga set out, and went to the island round which it sailed, then arrived at Kauvae. Kainga called: "You people come here, I want to ask you something." The people came, Kainga looked at them and shouted: "Not here, not here." Kainga shouted again: "How many people are left?" "Two remain." Kainga said: "Those two are the two. Go and bring them." The men went and took them from the cave of Motu-nui. Kainga looked, recognized and said: "Bring these two men over to me." Makita and Rokeaua came. They were taken on the boat for Kainga to kill. They said: "Do not kill us, allow us to see the hole Manavai-mariri where our long floating hair became white from eating bananas." Kainga said: "Paddle, let us go." The canoe arrived at Ihu. They saw Manavai-mariri. Rokeaua cried: "Here lies Manavai-mariri the country where my long floating hair became white from eating bananas."

Kainga acted, struck him with a club [and] he died. The canoe went and landed at Hanga-nui. They stayed, they lighted an earth oven and heated the stones. They scorched the corpse of Rokeaua. After scorching, the entrails were cleaned; they put them into the oven, spread stones over them, and covered the oven with grass. They cooked Rokeaua; when he was cooked, they took him out and distributed [his meat] among his Tupahotu people and every one ate his share.

## II

He tau te taua a Miru o te Tupahotu ananake mata. He kio Tupahotu, he opo ki haho ki te motu ki Marotiri, he opo ki Ana-te-ava-nui.

He oho te vaka ki te motu. He too mai i te tangata, i te nga vie, i te poki he tingaingai. He tari, he oho mai mai haho mai te motu, he tomo ki uta ki Ana-havea, he tuha i te ika tangata ki te tangata.

I te po rua o te raa, he hoki hakahou, he too mai i te tangata, i te vie, i te nga poki, he tingaingai. He mau, he oho mai

The Miru fought against the Tupahotu and all the tribes participated in the war. The Tupahotu were defeated, and part of them fled to the island Marotiri, part to the cave Ana-te-ava-nui.

Canoes went to the island. They seized men, women, and children, and killed them. They took them from the island and landed at Ana-havea. They distributed the corpses of the enemies among the people.

On another day they returned again to take men, women, and children and kill them. They carried them to Ana-havea

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ki Ana-havea, he vaai ki te tangata i te ika tangata mate. He rotu, he kai i te ika tangata.

He hoki te taua ki Ana-te-ava-nui. He turu te tiamo i roto i te kupenga. Ko ia ko te hatu mata i roto i te kupenga mo hoahoa ki te puoko o te tangata, he mamate. He oti te hatu mata, te hoki te tiamo ki runga, he too hakahou mai i te hatu mata ma po. He hakarivariva mo turu hakahou a po ki roto ki te ana, ki te tangata tingai.

He hoki te taua ki Ana-havea ai ka hoki no te vaka ki te ika tangata i te motu. Tae ko iti te tangata, te vie te poki, i te motu e too mai era ina he horau te oti mai. E toru ara o te vaka i te toohanga no mai ina he oti.

He hoki te taua ki taa ki Ana-te-ava-nui. Pe tau turuhanga ana o te tiamo e hoahoa era hai hatu mata. He mamate te tangata, te vie, te poki. E tangata verenga kore a ka hoa mai ki haho ana, tangata hiohio ka noho i roto i te ana. Ana mee reherehe ka hoahoa ki haho, he oti te tingaingai i te tangata, i te vie, i te poki ku oti a to haho. He toe etoru te angahuru no toe, ku oti a to haho.

He hoki mai te taua ki Ana-havea. He too mai i te tangata i runga i te vaka, he hakamaomao mai i te tangata o raro o te eve o te motu. Etahi-te-angahuru no te mee toe.

He oho mai a Oho-takatore mai toona hare, he tuu ki Ana-havea i mana ki te hora o te vaka tomo mai i runga te ika tangata. He hoahoa mai i te tangata mamate ki uta. He kiki te tangata o runga o te vaka: "Ko Hanga-maihi-tokerau, taau ika era." He nonoi o Oho-takatore: "Maaku te ika ingoa rivariva ena ko Hanga-maihi-tokerau." He rangi mai Poie: "Ma au ana o te ika ingoa rivariva nei mo te topa, o tea he oti?" He rori te teketeke o te hau a mua, he ea ki runga. He hoki, he iri a Oho-takatore. He ki te tangata ki a Poie-nuinui-a-Tuki: "Ku roria te teketeke o te hau o Oho-takatore, ku paea te taua, ku rakerake a ia koe." He oho Oho-taketore, he tuu ki toona hare, he ki ki te vie: "He tau vovo?" He haka hoki te vie: "Kai kakarao koe, e

where were distributed among the people the corpses of the dead. When supplied, they ate the human corpses. 173 539

The war party went back to the cave Ana-te-ava-nui. They lowered warriors in a net. The men took with them in the net obsidian flakes to throw at the heads of the enemies and to kill them. When their stones were exhausted, the warriors returned above and again took flakes of obsidian for another day. They shaped them for a return at night to the cave to kill the people.

The warriors returned to Ana-havea and the canoes set out for the bodies of the people on the islet. The men, women and children on the islet were becoming fewer and their number was being exhausted. A third time the boat went to the islet and they had not finished killing them.

The warriors went back behind the cave Ana-te-ava-nui. It was the same lowering of the warriors who threw the obsidian flakes. Men, women, and children died. The weak people were pushed to the entrance of the cave, the strong ones remained in the interior of the cave. The weak people at the entrance were killed from outside, and they were men, women, and children. Thirty men were left, those near the outside were finished.

The warriors went back to Ana-havea. They took people on their canoes and they were exterminating those who were on the lower part of the islet. Only ten men were left.

Oho-takatore came from his house, he went to Ana-havea to be there at the moment the canoes with the dead bodies in them landed. They cast the corpses on the beach. The people in the canoe said: "Here is the body of Hanga-maihi-tokerau." Oho-takatore asked: "Give me the body with the beautiful name Hanga-maihi-tokerau." Poie shouted: "For you it would not be a body with a beautiful name, why do you come when the daylight is over?" [Oho-takatore] turned the back of his circlet to the front and raised it. He returned, Oho-takatore went back to the interior. The people said to Poie-nuinui-a-Tuki: "Oho-takatore turned the back of his circlet to the front. A bad fight for you is starting now." Oho-takatore went on, he arrived at his house and

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173 539 koro e, i ki ro mai ai i tau vovo ki au? Hoki o nei o tau vovo e noho nei, koe i ui ro mai ai. O tai era tau vovo e noho nei raua ko taana kenu." E ki era te vie ki te kenu. He ki hakahou Oho-takatore: "Karangi koe ki tau vovo." He rangi te matua tamahahine ki taana poki: "E vovo e, ka iri mai koe ki ki atu tau tangata nei." He iri mai te poki, he oho mai, he tuu ki mua ki te hare. He ki te matua tamaaroa ki te poki: "E vovo e, e manau no a ho te hunonga ki toona mata o nga poki o Hotu-iti?" He hakahoki te poki ki te matua: "Kai ka kara o koe, e koro e, i ui ro mai a koe ki a au. Hoki e haaki ro mai te hunonga i te manau mo te mata o nga poki o Hotu-iti?" He ki hakahou te matua tamaaroa ko Oho-takatore: "Ka turu ka ki e manau ia ki te mata o nga poki o Hotu-iti." He taua te mee e ki era te mee e ki era te matua ki taana vovo no nga poki o Miru. He turu tay poki era.

He hoki te taua ki haho ki te motu. Etahi tangata ho-nui o runga o te motu, ko Kainga te ingoa. Etahi hoki tangata ko Vaha te ingoa, he matatoa o Miru. E noho i haho i te motu etahi kona ana tiaki a Kainga, etahi ana ki a Vaha. Ina he tangata toe ku oti a te vaai e Vaha ki runga ki te vaka ana te tingaiingai i te tangata e vaai era ki runga ki te vaka. E tiaki ana Vaha i te tangata o runga o te motu. E tiaki ana hoki Kainga ia Vaha o iri atu Vaha ki runga ki te motu o runga he noho.

He tuu ki toona raa, he oho mai te poki a Kainga ko Huri-avai te ingoa, i te ahiahi po, i oho mai ai tau poki era i kau mai ai. He tomo mai ki haho ki te motu o Marotiri. He haka rongo mai Kainga, ka ui Vaha: "Ko ai koe?" "Koau ko Huri-avai." He ki a Vaha ki te poki: "Ko au ko te toa o Huri-avai" He tingai Vaha i te poki a Kainga. Tau poki era ku ngaroa a ana te ingoa e Kainga o taana poki te kihanga o Vaha. He too Vaha i tau poki era, he hoa ki haho ki te tai. He rere takoa a Vaha, he hakakau atu. He turu mai a Kainga mai runga mai te motu, he mau takoa i te kakau. He rere takoa, he kau. He oho, he tomo Kainga a Revapu. He oho rae ki Ainini. He noho ira. He kau atu a Vaha raua ko te poki. He tomo a Voro. He amo, he iri, he oho. He manau Kainga: "A uta ho a said to his wife: "Where is our daughter?" The woman answered: "Why, you the father, do you ask me for our daughter? If our daughter were living here, you could ask me for her. She lives on the beach with her husband." So spoke the woman to the husband. Oho-takatore said again: "Call our daughter." The mother called her child, "My daughter, come up to speak with this man." The daughter came up and arrived in front of the house. The father said to his child: "My daughter, is my son-in-law [Moa] thinking of his tribe of the children of Hotu-iti?" The daughter answered to her father: "Why are you asking me such questions, father? Does your son-in-law reveal his thoughts about the people of Hotu-iti?" Oho-takatore, her father, said again: "Go down and tell him to think of the tribes of Hotu-iti." He told his daughter things to harm the people of Miru. The daughter went down.

The fight returns out to the islet. There was a man of importance, called Kainga, on the islet. There was also a man called Vaha, a warrior of the Miru. At a place on the island, Kainga was watching and Vaha was doing the same in a cave. There were no people left, they had been exterminated by Vaha who delivered them to the canoes after he had killed them. Vaha was spying on the people on the islet. Kainga spied on Vaha so that he would stay below and not climb on the islet.

One day the son of Kainga, named Huri-avai, came in the evening, swimming. He landed on the islet Marotiri. Kainga heard Vaha asking: "Who are you?" "I am Huri-avai." Vaha said to the child: "I am the enemy of Huri-avai." Vaha killed the son of Kainga. Kainga heard the name of his child when he was speaking to Vaha. Vaha took the child of Kainga [and] threw him into the sea. Vaha dived also and swam with the body. Kainga descended from the top of the island taking with him his obsidian spear. He also dived into the water and swam. Kainga arrived and landed at Revapu. He arrived first at Ainini and stayed there. Vaha was still swimming with the child. He landed at Voro. He carried the body, he went up. Kainga thought: "He will go, maybe, to the in-

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Vaha ana oho ro ana oho mai a nei, he mate ia au, ana oho a uta ekore ravaa mai." He noho Kainga. He ui ai Vaha, e oho no mai era, e amo no mai era i te poki tingai era. A Kainga i ka ui atu. Ka huri mai, ka turu mai. He manau Kainga: "He mate koe ia au." He oho mai a Vaha, he tuu mai ki tupuaki ki a Kainga, he ui: "Ko ai koe?" He ki mai a Vaha: "Ko Vaha ko te toa o Huri-avai." He ki Kainga: "E ko Kainga ko te toa o Vaha." He tingai Kainga ia Vaha. He mate a Vaha. He too i te poki a Kainga. He mau, he tangi, he hata i runga i te ahu itiiti ko Ainini te ingoa. He hoki mai Kainga, he amo i te ika ia Vaha. He oho, he tuu ki Revapu. He rere hakahou ki haho ki te tai, he kau. He oho ararua ko te ika ko Vaha. He tomo ki te motu. He amo, he iri, he eke, he iri, he oho ki te potu o te motu ira te tangata etoru-te-anga-huru. He vaai i te ika tangata, he horehore i te kiko, he tao ki te aro hainga, ki te aro kauhanga. He maemae no, he too mai, he kai, he te ahi mo tunuhanga ina he ahi, ina he kona mo ka o te umu he kai no ai, peiraa i hatui ki te manga hainga no ki te manga kauhanga, he ka kai roa avai.

He hoki mai a Moa, he keri i te kumara, i te uhi, he kato i te rau, he hahati i te toa. He hoki, he tuu Moa ki te hare. He too mai i te hukahuka, he puhi i te umu, he ootu te umu, he uru i te umu, he tao i te uhi, i te kumara, i te rau. He puapua hai maea a runga a te uhi, a te kumara, he pua hai taueve, he pengopengo, he tanu hai oone. He oti, he oho ki roto ki te hare, he too mai i te kupenga, he haka-rivariva i te kupenga, viri, he hohora, he oti te hohora, he hakarivariva, he viri hakahou i te kupenga. He ahiahi moi-koiko, he maoa i te umu. He too mai i te rau toa, he hohora, he papa i te kumara ki runga, i te uhi, i te rau. He here te hai o tau popo kai era. He too mai, he hakapa te kupenga, he amo, he iri i te po-haha. He iri, he oho, he tuu ki Vaipu. He too i te kupenga, he hakarere. He amo hakahou, he oho mai, he tuu ki Hanga-o-honu. He iri, he tuu ki Mahatua. He iri, he oho, he tuu ki maunga ki Vai-heva. He hakarere i te popo etahi tumu niu. He pao mai e varu tuke o te niu he too mai, he hakapa ki popo. He

terior. But if he comes here, I shall kill him. If he goes to the interior, I won't be able to catch him." Kainga stayed there. He saw Vaha walking, carring on his shoulders the body of the child he had killed. Kainga was watching. He [Vaha] turned towards him, he approached. Kainga thought, "You will be killed by me." When Vaha came near, Kainga asked: "Who are you?" Vaha answered: "Vaha, the enemy of Huri-avai." Kainga said: "I am Kainga, the enemy of Vaha." Kainga killed Vaha. Vaha died. Kainga took his child. He carried him, he wept, and put him on a small ahu called Ainini. Kainga went back, he carried Vaha's body. He went and arrived at Revapu. He entered into the sea and swam. He arrived with the body of Vaha. He landed on the island. He carried the body, he went up and arrived on the top of the islet on which there were thirty men. He gave them the body, they cut the meat and they cooked it under their armpits and between their thighs. This meat was raw and they ate it thus because they had no fire for cooking and no space to make an earth oven, so they only heated the meat under their armpits and between their thighs and devoured it all.

Moa came back, he dug out sweet potatoes, yams, plucked sweet potato leaves and broke off some sugar cane. He came back and arrived at his house. He picked up firewood, lighted the earth oven, made it warm and spread out the stones of the oven, put in it yams, sweet potatoes, and leaves. He put stones and then grass on the yams and the sweet potatoes, covered the hole with grass and covered it with soil. When he was through, he went into the house, he took a net, he mended it, unrolled it, spread it on the ground nicely, and rolled it up again. When evening was darkening, his oven was cooked. He took sugar-cane leaves and spread them and heaped the sweet potatoes, the yams, and the leaves on them. He wrapped into bundles the heap of food. He took the bundles, he put them together with the net, carrying them on his back, and set out when it was dark. He went, arrived at Vaipu. He took his net and left it there. He threw his load on his shoulders again, he went and arrived at Hanga-o-honu. He went on, arrived at Mahatua.

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amo, he oho, he tuu ki te tiamo. I ka tuu atu ko te tangata e hauru roa i raro i te pu. He oho ka rua pu, he tangata toraro, he oho hakahou ka toru pu, peiraa, he oho hakahou ka ha pu, peiraa te tangata, he oho hakahou ka rima pu, he oho hakahou ka ono pu, he oho hakahou ka hitu pu, he oho hakahou ka varu pu, he tangata toraro e hauru roa. E oho hakahou etoru tangata o te hihi o te opata. He turu ki raro ki raro ki te opata, erua hoki tangata tangata mounga ko te hauru ro ana. He turu, he topa, he ui: "He korua." He hakahoki mai a roto a te ana: "Ko ai koe." "Ko au ko Moa." He tangi mai: "Aue repa e, ka oho mai." He ki a Moa: "He mee o tangi vave mai anira o otea au. Ka too atu te hai mai tooku ngao." He too, he eke a Moa, he oo ki roto ki te ana. He mataki i te popo, he tuhaa i te toa He ki Moa: "Mo hakavaivai i te haha ka kai te toa." He tuhaa hakahou i te kumara, he tuhaa hakahou i te uhi, he tuhaa hakahou i te rau. He ki Moa: "He mee o kai vave e hoki au, ana kai iho." Heui Moa: "He te ivi o Pere-rokiroki?" He ki mai kia Moa: "Ai raro era." He ki Moa: "Ka turu, ka too mai." He turu, he too mai, he tuu mai. He titingi i te ivi rae, he hakaparehe, he rivariva, he hahau ki runga ki tau tuke niu era amo oho era. He here hiohio i runga i te tuke niu. He ui hakahou Moa: "I he te timo e noho nei?" He ki mai te tangata o roto o te ana ko Ana-te-ava-nui: "Na i te kona ena."

He too Moa i tau tuke niu era i runga te inangai ivi tangata. He pao e Moa ki runga, ki te kona noho era o te timo. He hiohio, he ki: "Ka (o)ho mai, ka mau ananake, ana rangi: 'Ka haro au erunga e.' Ka ruruku mai, ka too te rua tuke ka hakarau, ka ruruku mai peira te toru, peira te ha, peira te rima, peira te ono, peira te hitu, peira te varu. Ava varu tuke ana hakahiohio, ka ruruku mai ana, topa mai a runga a te taura, korua ana iri atu. Ata kahara korua ia au ana, ui korua ia au." He tangi Moa, ku oti a te vananga, te hatu oira i hakaaroha ai

He climbed and arrived at the hill of Valheva. He laid the bundle near the trunk of a *niu* tree. He cut eight branches, he took them and put them with the bundle. He threw it on his back, he went and arrived at the place where people were lowered. When he arrived the people slept in the ditches. He went to the second hole, there were people in, he went to the third hole, it was the same, he went to the fourth and it was the same. he went to the fifth, the sixth, the seventh and eighth and there were people sleeping in them. Three men were on the edge of the cliff. He descended the cliff and there were there two people, the last ones, who slept. He went down and asked: "Who are you?" They answered from the interior of the cave: "Who are you?" "I am Moa." They wept: "Alas, young man, come here." Moa said: "Do not cry lest I would be surprised by the daylight. Take the bundle from my back." They took it and Moa climbed into the cave. He opened the bundle and distributed the sugar cane. Moa said: "Eat the sugar cane to make your mouths wet." He distributed the sweet potatoes, yams, and leaves. Moa said: "Do not eat yet as I am going back; then eat." Moa asked: "Where are the bones of Pere-rokiroki?" They said to Moa: "Here below they are." Moa said: "Go down and bring them." They went down, they took them and came back. He broke it into pieces first, shaped it, tied it on the end of a coconut branch he had taken with him when coming. He lashed the bone firmly on the coconut branch. Then Moa asked: "Where do the killers stay?" The people of the cave Ana-te-ava-nui said: "At this place."

Moa took the branch of coconut tree to which the hook of human bone was fixed. Moa seized something above, the place where the warriors stood. After having made his grip firm he said: "You come, seize it all and when they shout, 'Lift us up,' you pull the net down, take another hook and do the same with two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight [hooks]. Catch them with the eight hooks and pull down the net, lower it and go up. You take care of my relatives and look after them." After finishing his explanations, Moa wept because he felt sorry for his

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ki te tangata ona. He oti te tangi, he ki: "Ka noho korua! O ravaa au e te taua, he hoki au."

He hoki mai a Moa, he iri, he oho mai raro mai te opata, he tuu ki te ngangata era erua. He tuu hakahou ki te ngangata era etoru e hauru no ana. He ea ki runga, he tere, he oho mai ki Maunga Teatea, ki Mahatua. He hipa ki te miritonu, he too mai, he mau ki te rima. He oho, he tuu ki Vaipu, ki te kupenga, he too mai Vaipu. He amo ki te ngao, he turu, he oho, he tuu ki te hare. He moe ro ana te vie. He hohora i te kupenga a runga a te hare, he hukihuki i te miritonu ki runga ki te kupenga ki ki ai te tangata mai tai ia. He uru ki roto ki te hare, he moe ararua ko te vie, he pangahau, he hauru kai roa te hauruhanga. I vouro ai te karanga: "Ku pae a taau taua, e tai e." He veveri hakahou a Moa, he ara. He ki te vie: "E ia koe o peaha." He ki Moa: "Kai ma mai o nga kope a peaha."

He ootea. He turu te timo, he topa te timo ki te haba o te ana. He hakarivariva te tangata o roto o te ana o Ana-te-ava-nui. He pao i te tuke rae i runga, a te rua, te toru, te ha, te rima. He ruruku mai te ono, te hitu. Ka ruruku ko ia te varu. He topa mai te timo ki roto ki te ana o Ana-te-ava-nui, i roto i te kupenga te timo tangata o Miru. He too e te tangata o roto o te ana o Ana-te-ava-nui, he tingai ararua timo, he hakarere i roto ana i te ana. He eke ro ai te tangata o roto o te ana a runga ana a te taura, he tahuti. He iri, he tuu ki tau tangata era erua. He tingai, he tuu ki te tangata era etoru o te hihi o te opata. He tingai.

He tuu ki te tangata o raro o te pu, he tingai e rima te angahuru a vavaru pu. He tikea te tangata a Moa, ina kai tingai. He rangi, "Ka noho korua tumu o mate i te terehanga." He noho tau ngangata era. He tingai i te tangata o Miru, te vie, te poki, he tingai tahi. He vae i te vie rivariva te tangata o roto o te ana o Ana-te-ava-nui. "He vae koe i taau o te vie. He vae hoki au i taaku o te vie, anaake pehu mee ana."

He tuu te taua ki te kona ko Té Hu-

people. His weeping ended, he said: "Farewell! I shall go back lest the war party will catch me." 173 539

Moa returned, he climbed from below the cliff and he arrived again where the two people were. He arrived again where three people were sleeping. When he reached the top, he fled, and went to Mount Teatea, to Mahatua. He looked for seaweed, and took some in his hand. He returned at Vaipu to his net to take from Vaipu. He put it on his back, he went down and arrived at his house. His wife was still sleeping. He spread the net on the house and spread the seaweed on it so that people would think he had come from the beach. He entered his house, he stretched beside his wife, he fell asleep but his sleep was not long. A clamor sounded: "War is on you, O people of the shore." Moa woke with a start. His wife said: "This is on account of you." Moa replied: "I do not know, perhaps the men by themselves."

The day broke. The warriors went down to the mouth of the cave. The people of the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui had made their preparations. The hook of bone caught, the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth. The sixth caught, the seventh. The eighth also caught. The warriors were dragged into the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui, within the net were the warriors of Miru. The people within the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui drew in [the net], they killed the two warriors, and left them in the cave. The people from within the cave climbed up by the rope, they fled. They climbed up and reached the two men [above]. They killed them and reached those three men on the edge of the cliff. They killed them.

They came to the people in the hole, they killed fifty in the eight holes. [When] they recognized the people of Moa, they did not kill them. They called out, "Stay, do not tire your knees by running away." Those people remained. They killed the people of Miru, the women, the children were killed alike. The people from within the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui chose the good-looking women. "You pick out for yourself from among the women. I also am selecting mine of the women, all are doing likewise."

They arrived at a place called Hukinga-

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kinga-heru. He rangi ki haho ki te motu o Marotiri: "E haho e, ka rere taura ko te Pua-hauhau Kuravaana." He rangi mai haho te motu: "Rangi mai na au, e uta e. Ku pua ana te rito o te maunga."

He hoki te taua o uta. He tingai i te tangata, i te vie, i te poki. He rere te mata-toa haho o te motu ki haho ki te tai. He kau, he oho, he tomo a Omamamama. He tingai i te tangata. He tuu ki Ana-havea, he tingai. He tere a Poie-nuinui-a-tuki ananake toona nga taina. He tingai te tangata, he tutute ki a Poie ki Orohie Poie, ki ahu Puoko ko taua nui takoa; ki Maio, ki Maunga Toatoa Poie ko taua nui takoa; ki moai Anonga-nonga Poie, te taua takoa; ki Hanga-te-tenga Poie te taua nui takoa; ki Runga-vae, ki Ana-vaero, ki Oroi, ki Akahanga. He iri a uta Poie, e iri takoa te taua ki te Rapa-tahi-auka. Poie ki Haupuamea, Poie ki te Miro-oone, Poie ko taua nui takoa. He tute era te Hotu-iti ko Kainga, he rangi Kainga, "Ka noho ka hakarere mahaki mo te tau era, mo hakareka o tatou." He hoki te taua ki te Revareva, ki Vai-tea, ki Ava-rangauka-atoroke-hau. Te taua a Kainga e tingai era i te tangata, i te vie, i te poki. E vie rivariva ana ka hue mo vie mo raua.

Ki Apui te taua a Kainga ki Maunga Opipi, ki Ahua. I ka tuu atu e hohoko ana te tangata ko Hua-karoa, ko Hua-kangori, etahi-te-angahuru te tangata pehu ingoa ana ananake. E koa ana i te ao. He oti Hotu-iti te Tupahotu, o Hotu-iti te mamate te ia raua. He ui mai a Hua-kangori ko te taua, he matuku. He oho atu Kainga ananake ko toona tangata. He tingai i tau ngangata era e koa ana i to raua ao; ina kai koa hakahou tingai-ngai ana e Kainga.

He piri mai te taua o roto o te ana o Ana-te-ava-nui ki a Kainga. He hakapiri ararua taua ko roto ko te ana ko hatio ko te motu e tingai era i te tangata, i te vie, i te nga poki. He oti te tangata, ina he tangata toe ko Anakena no te kona i tae tingai ko Vaihu te potu o te painga era.

heru. They called over to the island of Marotiri: "Outside there, Pua-hauhau and Kuravaana [the two enemies] fell from the rope. [The people on] the island outside shouted: "You are calling us, you people on the land. We have covered [our oven] with the banana leaves of the mountain."

The fighting returned to the interior. They killed the men, the women, and the children. The warriors out on the islet jumped into the sea. They swam to the shore where they landed in Omamamama. They killed the men. They went to Ana-havea killing. Poie-nuinui-a-tuki fled with all his brothers. They killed the men, they pursued Poie to Orohie, to ahu Puoko, where all engaged in a big fight; to Maio, to Mount Toatoa went Poie, where much fighting took place; to the statue Anonga-nonga went Poie, where fighting took place; to Hanga-te-tenga went Poie where fighting took place; to Runga-vae, to Ana-vaero, to Oroi, to Akahanga. Poie fled to the interior, fighting took place at Rapa-tahi-auka. Poie [fled] to Haupua-mea. Poie [fled] to Miro-oone where fighting took place. The Hotu-iti [warrior] Kainga pursued [Poie], Kainga shouted, "Stop, leave that man for another time to make sport for us." The fighting returned to Revareva, to Vai-tea, to Ava-rangauka-atoroke-hau. The fighting of Kainga killed the men, the women, the children. The good-looking women were spared as wives for themselves.

The war of Kainga went on to Apui, to Mount Opipi, to Ahua. When he arrived, people named Hua-karoa and Hua-kangori, and ten people all bearing similar names were dancing. They were joyous because of victory. Hotu-iti and Tupa-hotu were finished, Hotu-iti had been killed by them. Hua-kangori saw the war party and was afraid. Kainga and his warriors came. They killed the people who were celebrating their victory. They did not rejoice again since Kainga killed them.

The warriors from the cave Ana-te-ava-nui joined Kainga. The two war parties of the cave and of the island joined forces in killing the men, the women, and the children. There were no more people left except in Anakena and from the place not attacked in Vaihu, the point on

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Ku oti a Hotu-iti te tingai peiraa Hanga-o-honu. Ka tuu ro ki Mahatua.

He hoki te taua a Ana-te-ava-nui. He too i te tangata etahi ko Paoa-aurevera aana te ura, te ika, te toa. He too i tau ika era ko Paoa-aurevera, he amo, he hoki ki tua ki roto ki te ana, ki Ana-te-ava-nui. He puhi te umu, he tao i tau ika timo era i tau ika ko Paoa-aurevera, te toru ika i tao. He ootu, he maoa, he kai. He ata i te ana noho era o raua i roto i te ana tau ika era etoru.

He kai atu, he hoki te taua a Kainga ki Ana-havea. He tao takoa to raua o te tangata mo kai.

He ea mai te tangata o Ana-te-ava-nui. He noho i Mahatua. He oho te tangata, he too mai koe i taau vie, te kope era, te kope era hoki ananake. He oho mai te tangata a Kainga. He noho i Potu-te-rangi. He too mai i to raua o te vie etahi-te-angahuru te vie kataki no tangata ararua painga. He matau toroto to te ana ko te Toki-heu, ko te Toki-punipuni, ko te Toki-rengorengo. He matau hoki to haho to te motu to Marotiri ko Ui, ko Katu, ko Mohani, ko te Hihi-o-pirato, ko te Vekeveke-o-pirato. He hakaai i te poki ararua painga. He porekoreko te poki. He hangai; he nunui ararua painga ko tua ko te ana, ko haho ko te motu. Korokorohua te nga a poki, he hakamaa, he tau te taua tautanga te nga poki. He maa te tau o te taua.

He tuu ki toona tau. E iri te taua ki a Poie mo ira i hakarere era i tau taua rae era. Iri te taua i te hora era o te poa. He tuu ki Tuutapu. He ui ia Poie i roto i te hare ina o roto. I tai i te ika tuku. Erua no mee o roto o te hare; he hungavai ana o Poie ararua ko taana uka. Te hungavai o Poie-nuinui-a-tuki ko Maikuku, hungavai rakerake. He ki Maikuku ki te mata-toa o Tupahotu: "Ana hakaea au i tooku marengo ki haho, i tai Poie; ana tae hakaea ki haho i tooku marengo; ka maa no korua i roto i te hare."

He ea ta uka era a Maikuku he ohu: "E Poie-nuinui-a-tuki e, i mua ia koe taau taua hatupaki. Hatupaki verevereu verevereu Matangi-a-tuu-tapu e. He tau o taau e Maikuku rakerake e, mo Poie

the other side. The Hotu-iti were exterminated as were Hanga-o-honu. They reached Mahatua.

The fight went back toward Ana-te-ava-nui. They captured a man named Paoa-aurevera his lobsters, fish, and sugar cane. They took the victim, Paoa-aurevera, they carried him, they returned to the other side to the cave, to Ana-te-ava-nui. They lit the oven, they cooked that enemy victim, that victim Paoa-aurevera, the third victim to be cooked. They baked, cooked, and ate. They carved images of those three victims in the caves in which they stayed.

Enough for that, the fight of Kainga goes back to Ana-havea. They also cooked their victims to eat them.

The men of the cave Ana-te-ava-nui came out. They stayed in Mahatua. The men came, every one took a woman for himself, the young men, all the young men. The men of Kainga came. They stayed at Potu-te-rangi. The men of both parties each had ten women. The valiant warriors in the cave were Toki-heu, Toki-punipuni, Toki-rengorengo. The valiant warriors from the islet of Marotiri were Ui, Katu, Mohani, Hihi-o-pirato, Vekeveke-o-pirato. Both bands procreated children. Children were born. They were nursed; they grew up in the two bands, that of the cave and that of the islet. When the children were grown up they were taught, the children were instructed in war. They became experienced for the time of fighting.

The time arrived. The war party marched out against Poie who had been spared in the first war. The warriors set out in the morning. They arrived at Tuutapu. They looked for Poie in his house but he was not within. He was net fishing in the sea. Two things were in the house; the father-in-law of Poie-nuinui-a-tuki was Maikuku, a bad father-in-law. Maikuku said to the warriors of Tupahotu. "If I show my bald head outside, Poie will be in the sea; if I do not show my bald head outside, you will know that he is in the house."

The daughter of Maikuku went out and shouted: "O Poie-nuinui-a-tuki, your enemies are upon you. There are many, many men from the village Matangi-a-tuu-tapu. Maikuku is your enemy, he is

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mo toou hunonga, ika nui o te Hakataha pei nui."

He oho te taua, he piri ki a Poie. He tute ia Poie ki Hanga-roa, ki Apina-iti, ki Apina-nui, ki Hanga-piko, ki Mataveri. He rere ki haho ki te tai ananake ko te taina a Poie e kau, he oho ki te motu ko taua nui takoa. He tomo Poie ki te motu ananake ko taana nga taina. He tuu takoa atu te taua. He rere hakahou mai Poie ko taua nui takoa. He tomo Atepu. He tere, he iri ki runga ko taua nui takoa. He rava te taina rae, he rava karua, he rava ka toru, he rava ka ha. Etahi i ngaro ko Taku-hauuri. He too ia Poie, he mau, he iri. He tangi Poie: "Piri nui te toto e nga hoa e, piri nui tukaki nui." He ea ki runga ki Orongo ananake te taua. He hakapiri tahi te taua. He oho mai te poki: "Ka vaai mai tau korohua ki a au." He too Kainga, he avai ki tau poki era ia Poie. He too mai tau poki era ko Kirireva te ingoa o tau poki era. He too mai ia Poie, he hakamaroa. He too mai hai rau toa, he hai ahaho a te hakari o Poie. He pengopengo te rau toa i runga i te hakari. He too mai tau poki era ko Kirireva i te ahi, he tutuora ia Poie hai ahi. He tipatipa te hakari i te ahi, e hu era te ahi, i te vera i te ahi. He mate Poie.

He too tau poki era. He oho atu, he kai atu, he hoki te taua mai Orongo ki Mataveri, e kimi ana i te tangata, i te vie, i te poki toenga. Ki Hanga-roa ki Vakapiko, ki Ana-o-hoka ira Oho-takatore ananake ko taana nga poki. Ko toona tangata ina kai tingai. He oho mai i Ahu-te-peu, ki Ohau, ki Maitakitemoa, ki Vai-mata, ki Ru-motu, ki Hanga-tavari ki Hangoteo, ki Motu-raunuku, ki Te Emu, ki Papa-te-kena, ki Motu Kau, ki Te Ava, ki Hanga-o-Hiro. E tingai hakamaomao era ki Hiramoko, ki te Hare-titaa. E too, e oho era.

bad to Poie, to his son-in-law, the big fish [victim] of Hakataha."

The enemies went to meet Poie. They pursued Poie to Hanga-roa, to Apina-iti, to Apina-nui, to Hanga-piko, to Mataveri. All the brothers of Poie jumped into the water and swam to the rocks, and all the enemies did the same. Poie landed at the island with all his brothers. The enemies arrived too. Poie jumped again into the water and all the enemy. He landed at Atepu. He fled, he went up and all the enemy [followed]. The enemies caught the first brother, they caught the second, they caught the third, they caught the fourth. One called Taku-hauuri disappeared. They took Poie, they held him, they took him with them. Poie cried: "The abundant blood of the brothers was mixed, it has been put together." The enemies went up to Orongo. One came near the enemy. A child came: "Give me this old man." Kainga took him, he gave Poie to the child. That child took him, Kirireva was the name of that child. He took Poie, he made him stand. He took sugar-cane leaves, with them he wrapped the body of Poie. He covered the body entirely with sugar-cane leaves. The child Kirireva took fire, burned Poie alive. His body was shaking under the fire, the flames of the fire, the heat of the fire. Poie died.

Kainga took the child, they went to eat. The soldiers returned from Orongo to Mataveri searching for the men, women, and children who were left. They passed to Hanga-roa, to Vakakipo, to Ana-o-hoka where lived Oho-takatore with all his children. They did not kill them. They came to Ahu-te-peu, to Ohau, to Maitakitemoa, to Vai-mata, to Ru-motu, to Hanga-tavari, to Hangoteo, to Motu-raunuku, to Te Emu, to Papa-te-kena, to Motu Kau, to Te Ava, to Hanga-o-Hiro. They killed the people to the bay of Hiramoko and to Hare-titaa. They plundered and they left.

173 The two legends given above are connected only by the character Kainga. Both stories seem to refer to the same warrior of Tupahotu, and it appears that the events of the second legend are not even remotely caused by the incidents of the first one. Routledge (194, pp. 282-288) brings the two stories together under one title. Being inclined to admit the single identity of the

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two Kainga, I follow her example, though the two legends were told to me on different occasions and as separate stories. The entire legend could be interpreted as the first strife between the Hotu-iti and Tuu people, though no mention of a real war is made in the story. 173

The first legend has been recorded previously only by Routledge (194, pp. 282-284). The details of her version, which differ from mine, are as follows:

Kainga has three sons: Huriavai, Rau-hiva-aringa-erua (literally, Twin-two-faces), and Mahanga-rake-rake-a-Kainga. The third name is considered by Routledge as a proper name, whereas *mahanga* means orphan, and *rake-rake* means the bad one, the silly one. The remainder of the story is identical except that the first boat made by Kainga was not well made and he had to resort to King Tuu-ko-ihu at Ahu-te-peu, who built for him a boat twenty fathoms long.

The principal episodes of the second legend were previously recorded by Thomson (215, pp. 529-531), by Routledge (194, pp. 285-288), and by Vives Solar (220). The native text recorded by me lacks the following episode to which Thomson alludes briefly and which Routledge (194, p. 284) and Vives Solar (220, pp. 301-306) both transcribe in detail:

There was a war between the two main districts of the island, the Tuu and the Hotu-iti. Kainga tried in vain to kill Toari, a Miru. At home he killed a white cock and gave it to his child Huriavai to eat. That night Huriavai dreamed he threw a stone at a white cock coming toward him and killed it. The dream was interpreted as foretelling Toari's death. The next day Kainga, seeing that no one could kill Toari, commanded Huriavai to go into the battle, taking two spears. Huriavai succeeded in slaying Toari. Kainga, carrying his son, left the battlefield. When deserted by their chief, all the Tupa-hotu ran away, pursued by the Miru. Some escaped and hid in the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui; others went to Marotiri. Huriavai's brother had two faces. He was killed by a man called Pau-a-ure-vera. The face behind said, "I see Pau-a-ure-vera; he comes to me with a spear in his hand. You look too." But the face in front said, "I do not like to look; you look." The face behind was angry and said, "You look too." While the two faces talked, Pau struck the boy in the neck with his spear. He fell dead, and Kainga saw from the island the fall of his son.

Variations between the different versions of the rest of the story are slight. Those in Thomson's version follow:

Moa is the son of Oho-taka-tore instead of his son-in-law. The old man visits his daughter-in-law, who delouses him. (This detail is told by Knoche also, although he gives the wife of Moa as the daughter of Oho-taka-tore.) Kainga is mentioned only as a warrior of Hotu-iti, sixth son of the first king and the father of Huriavai. He is dead at the time of the war. The young Huriavai is not killed by Vaha but by a sentry as he tries to swim to the main island. Vaha is a Hotu-iti warrior who avenges the dead Huriavai and swims back to the island with the corpse of his slayer. The episode of Poie's death is lacking.

Variations in Routledge's version are:

Vaha is a Tupahotu man, father of Toari, and is killed by Huriavai. Vaha's mother is from Anakena. Vaha is a traitor who gives thousands of people of the islet to Poie, who kills them and brings their corpses ashore to be distributed among the men of Ana-

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173 kena. The men besieging the cave " . . . had made twenty holes in a row in the cliff above and they stood in the holes one behind the others."

When Kainga reaches Poie he calls to him: "You have food, I have none; I shall not kill you, I will go back; but another day I will kill you." Later he asks Maikuku, a Tupahotu, to give his daughter to Poie. That is the reason why Poie's father-in-law is willing to betray him when Kainga comes to kill him.

Most of the variations in Vives Solar's version result from misunderstanding or invented details, but some of them contain complementary details:

The name of the warrior whose bones have been used to make fishhooks has been confused with the expression meaning "thin bones." The names of the chiefs in the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui are Te Toke-heu and Te Toke-kai. After victory, Kainga and Te Toke-(?) divide the land. Kainga takes the region of Hanga-nui and Toke-(?) the region of Poike. There are thirty men left in the cave and thirty on the islet Marotiri. They marry the women of the other district which they had captured.

The final episode, "The death of Poie," in Vives Solar's version (220, pp. 315-318) contains some errors: Maikuku is the wife of Poie's father-in-law. She is not the one who betrays him by showing her head, although the song clearly refers to the bald head of Maikuku. Poie-poki, son of Poie, is mentioned but does not figure in the story. Probably he is the one who advises his father of the danger threatening. (Routledge's version states it was the daughter of Poie who advised him of the ambush; in my version she is given as his wife.) The boy Kirireva tortures Poie and kills him by passing between his legs and pushing him down from the cliff.

The episodes at the end of Vives Solar's version (220, pp. 318-320) have been recorded by him only: A brother of Poie, Taka-aure, succeeded in escaping and concealing himself between rocks. He returned to Hanga-roa and married. Many years later his sons walked on the side of Rano-raraku. They were called to by an old man who asked them if they were the sons of Poie. He told them he was Kirireva who had killed their uncle [father] and that he was ready to give himself to them to be dealt with as they wished. He only asked for permission to take a bath and to put on a new loin cloth and a new cloak.

The young men brought Kirireva to Hanga-roa to show him to their mother. The mother advised them to forget about revenge because so many years had passed since the death of Poie. Besides, the relatives of Kirireva could start a revenge war. In the end, they put the old man into a hole, covered him with leaves, and burned him. The corpse was covered with ashes.

## Destruction of the Images

173 727 778 By 1864 there was not a single statue which had not been overthrown from the burial platforms (171, p. 177). Both Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 295) and La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 79) were struck by the number of images lying on the ground, and G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 587) remarks that on the same ahu some statues remained standing while others had fallen. In 1815 Kotzebue (127, vol. 1, p. 141) looked in vain for the images near Hanga-roa Bay described by Cook and La Pérouse, but he did see some standing when he turned the south point of the island. Admiral du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 225), when he skirted the western coast in 1838, was the last white man to see an ahu surmounted by its statues. Thus the overthrowing of the last statues must have occurred between 1838 and 1864. This is fully confirmed by native tradition, which attributes the destruction of the monuments to the

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wars which broke out before the arrival of white men. De Lapelin (129, p. 122, note 1) received information from eyewitnesses: 173 727 778

> The statues were overthrown not long ago. Daniel, an employee of Mr. Brander in Tahiti, saw these new iconoclasts at work. During their intertribal wars, the victorious party threw down the statues of the defeated. If the statues of Rano-raraku are still standing it is because the district was never invaded. At least this is the explanation given by many of the emigrants here in Tahiti.

Likewise from emigrants in Tahiti comes Jaussen's statement (115, p. 245): "In our days, when the natives were still pagan they showed that these *moai* were not deities, since at a certain time there broke out the war of overthrowing the statues, *huri moai*. They indulged in the barbarous pleasure of pulling down each others images."

The statue called Paro on Ahu-te-pito-te-kura, on the north coast was the last one which remained standing. In 1915 an old man, who was a child when it was pulled down, told Routledge (194, p. 173) that the vandals were the Tupahotu-o-uta, who nursed a grudge against the Tupahotu-oone, to whom the statue belonged. A woman was eaten by the people of the eastern group, the Tupahotu-oone. In revenge her son trapped thirty of the Tupahotu-o-uta in a cave and consumed them. The image was thrown down in the struggle which followed the massacre. 173 266 727 778

That the statues were voluntarily overthrown is evidenced by many signs. The position of the images and the damage they suffered prove that they were pulled down by means of a rope or overthrown by removal of the slab on which they rested. 173 727 778

Besides the historical tradition, which seems perfectly correct and in harmony with the methods of warfare throughout Polynesia, the Easter Islanders have a legend which ascribes the destruction of some of the images to magic:

> A priest (*iri-atua*) came down from Virivovo. He entered a house near Vai-maho. The men and women living in this house had eaten all the fish, the lobsters and the congers without leaving anything for the *iri-atua*. When he came into the house, he asked, "Where is the fish, the lobsters, and the congers you left for me?" They said, "It is finished." He answered, "All right." He slept in the house. With his foot he pushed the supporting post (*oka-pou*) of the house. The inhabitants of the house heard a loud noise, made by the falling statues of ahu Tonga-riki. At dawn the men of this house said, "When we were asleep the *iri-atua* pressed the post with his foot and caused the statues to fall. It is because we did not give him fish, conger, and lobster."

This legend refers to the ahu Tonga-riki only. I consider it important, not in itself, but as evidence that legends may have been created to account for rather recent events.

Another legend explains not only the overthrowing of the images but also the sudden interruption of the work in the quarry. It was heard first by 173 778

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173 778 Father Butaye (37, p. 30) in 1898. The natives showed him the place where a big earth oven had been dug out to cook a huge tuna fish. The same legend was told to Routledge (194, p. 182), a crayfish taking the place of the tuna. Estella (79, pp. 37-38) omits the end of this tale, thereby making the whole story meaningless:

> The carvers of the big images sent the people to get fish and crayfish in all the places. The fishermen arrived at Kikiri-mariu. They dived after a crayfish and they entered a hole where there were the body, the tail, and the legs of the crayfish. The divers came up to the surface and said to the people above that the crayfish was so large that it could not be caught. Other people came and dived, but they died.
>
> The people to whom the crayfish belonged made a big net. Although six men had already died on account of the big crayfish with the long tail, they went to capture it amidst the cries of the crowd. They entered the sea, and swam until they arrived above the hole. One young man dived down to the crayfish and opened his net. Two others drove the crayfish into it. When the crayfish was in it, the two young men pulled the rope and brought the net to the surface. They made for the shore with the crayfish. The people shouted, "Eh, eh, the large crayfish with the long tail has been caught." All admired the crayfish that the young men were carrying to Oiohie. They presented the crayfish to the image carvers, who shouted to an old magician woman: "Light the earth oven to cook the large crayfish with the long tail, Te-tu-kote-ura-rarapenui." The old woman lit the earth oven, put in the crayfish and sweet potatoes, and said to the carvers, "When the food is done, take it out of the earth oven, but leave some of the crayfish for me." The stone carvers said, "All right." The old woman went to the house of her brothers where she stayed to talk.
>
> When the crayfish was cooked, the image carvers opened the earth oven and ate everything without thinking of the old woman. Then they returned to the statue Te Tokanga which they were carving. They had finished the face, the neck, and the hands. They were undercutting it to remove it and erect it on the ahu Vinapu and the ahu Mataitai. The old woman returned and saw that the earth oven had been opened and the crayfish eaten; only the shell remained. She said angrily, "Where is my share of the crayfish?" They said, "There is no more. We forgot you and that is why nothing has been left." The magician shouted, "Men who are standing, fall down. This is because nothing has been left of the large crayfish with the long tail, and to teach you never to take my belongings again." All the statues fell down, for the heart of the magician was full of anger.

## GENEALOGIES OF KINGS

114 173 If Easter Island had kingly genealogies similar to those recorded for other parts of Polynesia, most of her mysteries might be solved. It would be possible to determine the approximate date of the first landing of Polynesian immigrants on the island, and thus to relate its traditional history to that of some other island. The early missionaries and travelers who inquired about the past of Easter Island accepted as genealogies mere lists of kings. Each author who got a list of Easter Island kings was convinced that he had the correct sequence of *ariki-mau* (supreme chief) who succeeded to power by order of primogeniture. But there are several lists which coincide neither in names nor in number of kings. A comparison of these documents gives one the impression that the informants remembered the beginning of the genealogies and of course the last kings, who lived in recent times, but forgot or

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confused many of the intervening names. Some of these names undoubtedly refer to *ariki* (chiefs or noblemen) famous as ancestors of lineages or remembered for some special deed in the past. 114 173

There are many published lists of Easter Island kings, but all, except my own, are more or less faulty copies of the lists of Roussel, Jaussen, or Thomson. The first list of kings was recorded by Father Roussel (190, p. 358), probably in 1867 or 1868. This list was copied by Gana (86, p. 31) in 1870 and by De Lapelin (129, p. 103) in 1872. Various misspellings have crept into these two lists and several names have been run together as one. Gana includes three names not given by Roussel. Lesson (140, vol. 2, pp. 290-293) reproduces the lists of both Gana and De Lapelin with some unfortunate changes in spelling.

Bishop Jaussen's list of Easter Island kings was published posthumously in 1893, edited by Father Idlephonse Alazard. Jaussen probably obtained this list from an Easter Island native working for Brander in Tahiti. De Lapelin published what is undoubtedly a copy of this list as a footnote to his memoirs (129, p. 109, note). The orthography of this second list of De Lapelin appears to be the most correct of all the lists.

In 1886 Thomson transcribed from Salmon's data the longest list of kings that has been recorded. Unfortunately there are so many errors in spelling that it is difficult to use his list. A manuscript by W. D. Alexander in Bishop Museum, presumably copied from Thomson's original papers, reproduces his list with seemingly correct orthography.

In 1915 Routledge (194, p. 241) transcribed two independent lists, each containing 30 names. Neither of them has yet been published.

My own list of kings was dictated to me by the daughter of Ure-vaeiko, one of Thomson's informants. Besides native memory, my list is based on a fragmentary record that my friend Tepano had inscribed in a notebook many years ago. 173 [115]

The following table gives all recorded names of Easter Island kings in the sequence in which they were recorded. Where misspelling is obvious, the names have been transcribed in their probable form based on rules of Polynesian phonetics. But wherever a change was doubtful, I retained the original spelling even though it was apparently incorrect. W. D. Alexander's manuscript version of Thomson's list is quoted here as being more accurate than the list appearing in Thomson's publication (215). Initials in parentheses, standing for Roussel, Jaussen, Thomson, and Métraux, following a name indicate duplication of that name in another list. Numbers following initials indicate sequence.

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My comparative table is practically identical to that of Meyer and Jablonowski (160, pp. 12-13). Seven names are common to all the lists. Twelve of the 23 names of Roussel's list are included in Thomson's list which also has 22 of the 32 names given by Jaussen. Roussel's and Jaussen's lists have 9 names in common. Twenty-seven names appear in at least two lists.

The sequence of names in Roussel's list presents striking parallels with the first and last quarter of Thomson's list, although the intermediate sections do not correspond at all. Similarly the names common to the lists of Jaussen and Thomson have the same sequence at the beginning and at the end, and the variations occur in the intermediate generations. The coincidences between lists are primarily in the kings' names which also designate tribes or districts, like Marama, Raa, Hotu-iti, Tuu, and so forth. The numerous similarities between Jaussen's and Thomson's lists are particularly striking in the series of "kings" of whose names the word *tuhunga* is a part (J:10-13; T:33-36). The leading name in this series is Kahui te tuhunga, which may be translated as "a group of *tuhunga*." Then comes the "great" *tuhunga*, (Tuhunga-nui) the "large" *tuhunga* (Tuhunga-roa), and the Tuhunga-marakapu. The same names are spelled Tuu-hunga and Tuu-hanga in Thomson's and Alexander's lists, thus including the name of the god Tuu. If we accept Jaussen's spelling, we may consider these kings as a group of experts or priests (*tuhunga*) who have been inserted in the list of kings by mistake or for some obscure reason.

It is noteworthy that identical names are given in the same order in two lists of quite different origin. It might be evidence that the islanders had preserved the memory of legendary or historical characters which they arbitrarily inserted in given succession in lists or genealogies.

Tuu was the name of the western part of the island occupied by the *mata-nui* or greater lineages (Miru, Marama, Haumoana). Roussel's list and my own give Hotu-iti and Tuu as kings; their close association with the peoples of the two halves of the island is made clear in my list which gives the names as Tuu-ko-te-mata-nui (M:20) and Hotu-iti-ko-te-mata-iti (M:21).

King Hau-moana who was very likely the ancestor of the Haumoana people was undoubtedly an *ariki* and the chief of his group, but it is not possible to ascertain whether he was an *ariki-nui* (king of the island).

Like Williamson (228, t. 1, p. 391) and Meyer and Jablonowski (160, p. 12), I consider King Korua-Rongo (?) the same person as the fifth son of Hotu-matua, Koranarongo (?), who received the land between Anakena and Rano-raraku and became the ancestor of the tribe Koro-orongo. Probably Koro-orongo was arbitrarily included in the list of Easter Island kings, and he must either be considered a separate character or be placed with Hotu-matua's sons.

Miru is the name of a king and of a lineage of which he was probably the ancestor. The Miru were the most important group on the island since they had the largest territory. They reserved to themselves the title of *ariki* because the king was always a Miru. A tradition recorded by Thomson (215, p. 527) makes Miru a son of Hotu-matua, but in Jaussen's list he is the third king, the son of Tuu-ma-heke. He is the third king in my record and the fourth in Thomson's. Roussel places him as the ninth king, but the six names intervening between Tuu-ma-heke and Miru are those of a queen and five sons of Hotu-matua, so that actually Miru is the third king in the list. There is thus a certain consistency in the different lists which tends to prove that Miru was probably the third *ariki*. Beyond any doubt it also seems that Ataranga was either the son of Miru or his direct successor. Jaussen clearly designates him as son of Miru (Ataranga-a-Miru), and in Roussel's and my lists he follows directly after Miru. On the other hand, Ataranga follows Himariru, Aurangi, and Raa in Thomson's list. Possibly there has been

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[facing p. 96(a)]

TABLE 2. NAMES OF EASTER ISLAND KINGS

| Roussel | Jaussen | Thomson | Métraux |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Hotu (J:1;T:1;M:1) | Hotu-matua (R:1;T:1;M:1) | Hotumatua (R:1;J:1;M:1) | Hotu-matua (R:1;J:1;T:1) |
| 2. Taumceke (J:2;T:2;M:2) | Tumaheke (R:2;T:2;M:2) | Tuumaheke (R:2;J:2;M:2) | Tuu-maheke (R:2;J:2;T:2) |
| 3. Vakai | Miru-a-Tumaheke | Nuku | Miru (R:9;T:4) |
| 4. Marama (M:12) | Hata-miru | Miru (R:9;M:3) | Ataranga (R:10;S:7;T:8) |
| 5. Raa (T:7) | Miru-o-hata | Hinariru | Ihu (R:12;T:10) |
| 6. Mitiake (J:6) | Mitiake (R:6) | Aturangi | Tuukunga-te-mamaru (T:12) |
| 7. Hotuiti (M:21) | Ataranga-a-Miru (R:10;T:8;M:4) | Raa (R:5) | Mahaki-tapu-vaeti (T:46) |
| 8. Tuukura | Atuuraranga (Atu-ureraga) (T:17) | Ataranga (R:10;J:7;M:4) | Nga-uka-te-mahaki (T:23) |
| 9. Miru (J: ;T:4;M:3) | Urakikena (T:28) | Hakapuna | Hau-moana (R:16;T:44) |
| 10. Ataraga (J:7;T:8;M:4) | Kahui tuhunga (T:33) | O Ihu (R:12;M:5) | Anakena (T:48) |
| 11. Tuu (M:20) | Te tuhunga (T:34) | Ruhoi | Tupa-ariki (R:17;T:45) |
| 12. Ihu (T:10;M:5) | Te tuhunga-nui (T:35) | Tukanga-te-mamaru (M:6) | Marama (R:4) |
| 13. (Ikukana)? | Te tuhunga-marakapau (T:36) | Takahiti (Takahita) (R:15 ?) | Tokoterangi |
| 14. (Tucuiaia) | Ahu arihao | Ouaraa | Kao-aroaro |
| 15. (Tuku-ytu) (T:13 ?) | Nui-te-patu (T:49) | Koroharua (J:23) | Mataivi (R:15) |
| 16. Hau-moana (T:44;M:9) | Hirakautehito (T:25) | Mahutu-ariki | Kaohoto |
| 17. Tupa ariki (T:45;M:11) | Tupuitetoki (T:26) | Atua-ure-rangi (J:8) | Te Rahai ((R:19;J:22;T:53) |
| 18. Mataivi (M:15) | Kuratahongo (T:30) | Te-Riri-tuukura | Te Ravarava (J:21;T:51) |
| 19. Te Rahai (J:22;T:53; M:17) | Hiti-rua-anea (Hitiauaanea) (T:27) | Korua-Rongo | Te Hetuke |
| 20. Kaimokohi (J:25;T:54; M:27) | Havinikoro (Havinikiro) (T:39) | Tiki-te-hatu | Tuu-ko-te-mata-nui (R:11) |
| 21. Gahara (J:28;T:56; M:25) | Te ravarava (T:51;M:18) | Urukena | Hotu-iti-ko-te-mata-iti (R:7) |
| 22. Tepito (J:31) | Te Rahai (R:19;T:53;M:17) | Te Rurua-tiki-te-hatu | Honga |
| 23. Gregorio (J:32) | Koroharua (T:15) | Nau-ta-mahiki (M:8) | Tekena |
| 24. | Te Ririkatea (T:43) | Te Rika-tea | Tuukoihu (T:47) |
| 25. | Kaimakoi (R:20;T:54;M:27) | Te Ria-kautahito (Hira-kautehito) (J:16) | Nga-ara |
| 26. | Te Hetukarakura | Ko te Pu-i-te-toki (J:17) | Nga-ara erua |
| 27. | Huero | Ko te Hiti-rua-nea (J:19) | Kaimakoi (R:20;J:25;T:54) |
| 28. | Kaimakoi-iti (T:56;M:28) | Te Urua-kikena (J:9) | Kaimakoi iti (J:28;T:56) |
| 29. | Ngaara (R:21;T:55;M:25) | Tu-terei-manara | Rokorokohetau |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M :23) | | | (R :) |
| 22. | Tepito (J :31) | Te Rahai (R :19 ; T :53 ; M :17) | Te Rurua-tiki-te-hatu | Honga |
| 23. | Gregorio (J :32) | Koroharua (T :15) | Nau-ta-mahiki (M :8) | Tekena |
| 24. | | Te Ririkatea (T :43) | Te Rika-tea | Tuukoihu (T :47) |
| 25. | | Kaimakoi (R :20 ; T :54 ; M :27) | Te Ria-kautahito (Hira-kautehito) (J :16) | Nga-ara |
| 26. | | Te Hetukarakura | Ko te Pu-i-te-toki (J :17) | Nga-ara erua |
| 27. | | Huero | Ko te Hiti-rua-nea (J :19) | Kaimakoi (R :20 ; J :25 ; T :54) |
| 28. | | Kaimakoi-iti (T :56 ; M :28) | Te Urua-kikena (J :9) | Kaimakoi iti (J :28 ; T :56) |
| 29. | | Ngaara (R :21 ; T :55 ; M :25) | Tu-terei-manara | Rokorokohetau |
| 30. | | Maurata (T :57) | Ko te Kura-tahoau (Te Kura-tahongo) (J :18) | Rukunga |
| 31. | | Tepito (R :22) | Taoraha-Kaihahanga | |
| 32. | | Gregorio (R :23) | Tukuma | |
| 33. | | | Te kahui-te-hunga (J :10) | |
| 34. | | | Te tuuhunga-nui (J :11) | |
| 35. | | | Te tuuhunga-roa (J :12) | |
| 36. | | | Te tuuhunga mare kapiau (J :13) | |
| 37. | | | Toati-rangi-hahe | |
| 38. | | | Tangaroa-tatarara | |
| 39. | | | Havini-koro (J :20) | |
| 40. | | | Punahako | |
| 41. | | | Puna-ate-tuu | |
| 42. | | | Puna-kai-te-vana | |
| 43. | | | Te Riri-katea (J :24) | |
| 44. | | | Hau-moana (R :16 ; M :9) | |
| 45. | | | Tupa ariki (R :17 ; M :11) | |
| 46. | | | Mahiki Tupuariti (Mahiki Tupa ariki) (M :7) | |
| 47. | | | Tuukoihu (M :24) | |
| 48. | | | Anakena (M :10) | |
| 49. | | | Nui Tupahotu (J :15) | |
| 50. | | | Rikanu | |
| 51. | | | Te Ravarava (J :21 ; M :18) | |
| 52. | | | Te Hiti-huki | |
| 53. | | | Te Rahai (R :19 ; J :22 ; M :17) | |
| 54. | | | Kaimokoi (R :20 ; J :25 ; M :27) | |
| 55. | | | Nga-ara (R :21 ; J :29 ; M :25) | |
| 56. | | | Kaimakoi-iti (J :28 ; M :28) | |
| 57. | | | Maurata (J :30) | |

[Facing p. 90(4)]

[1] Numbers 13-15, given in parentheses in Roussel's list, are names given by Gana (86) in his copy of Roussel's list, which are not included in Roussel's original list.

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some confusion with Aturangi, and Hinariru looks very like Hinelilu (Hineriru) who was the leader of the second canoe which came with Hotu-matua. (See 194, p. 278.) 173

The twentieth king listed by Thomson is Tiki-te-hatu (Tiki-the-lord), who is a very popular figure of the mythology of central and marginal Polynesia. In the Easter Island creation chant copied by Thomson, Tiki-te-hatu is mentioned four times as the male procreator of various things. In one of the verses Tiki-te-hatu is the male principle associated with Rurua-tiki-te-hatu who plays the part of the female principle, and together they produce Te Riri-katea. "Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Rurua-tiki-te-hatu, ka pu te Te Riri-katea" (Tiki-the-lord copulated with Rurua-tiki-the-lord and produced Te Riri-katea). This Te Riri-katea was the father of King Hotu-matua and reigned on the island of Marae-renga, whence Easter Islanders are said to have come. The same Riri-katea figures in Jaussen's list as the twenty-fourth king! In Thomson's list is a king called Te Rikatea whose name seems to be a duplication of Te Riri-katea or a corruption of Te Ira-katea, son of Te Riri-ka-atea and brother of Hotu-matua. These gods' names appear to have been interpolated in the middle and at the end of Thomson's list and have nothing to do with historical *ariki*. Perhaps they were included in a genealogy merging with mythology. One may argue that Te Riri-katea is synonymous with Hotu-matua's father, but, since Thomson's list is abnormally long, we may assume it to be more likely that Te Riri-katea refers to a king who did not reign on Easter Island. It is open to question whether the verse in the chant is a fragment of a real genealogy included in a creation chant or whether an element of the creation chant has been introduced into a genealogy.

Thomson's list affords no historical detail about the various kings other than the first and the last in the series. He mentions that Te-tahonga-mare-kapeau had a son, Toati-rangi-hahe, who rebelled against his father and finally killed him.

The party sent by Captain Cook to explore the south coast of Easter Island contacted a chief or an *ariki* whom G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 589) supposed to be the king of the island. This chief, whose name was Tohitai (Ko Tohitai), does not appear in any lists of kings. Meyer and Jablonowski (160, p. 13) suggest that he might have been the same as the twenty-fifth king, Te Ria-kauteahito or Hirakautehito, in Thomson's list and the sixteenth in Jaussen's. However, there is no justification for this supposition. If Tohitai and Hirakautehito were the same person, 15 kings would have reigned on Easter Island from 1774 to 1862 according to Jaussen's list—30 according to Thomson's.

Nga-ara is the only king with the full authority of the ancient *ariki* whose personality has been characterized in history. He died before the raid by Peruvian slavers in 1862. Most of what we know about the position and function of Easter Island kings rests on information obtained from Te Haha, who in his youth was Nga-ara's servant and who died sixteen years ago.

There is some uncertainty as to which king was kidnapped by the Peruvians and died in the Chincha Islands. According to Jaussen (115, p. 242) and to Thomson (215, p. 534), it was Maurata who is generally recognized as the last real *ariki* of Easter Island. According to De Lapelin (129, p. 109), Kaimakoi and his son, Maurata, were kidnapped and taken to the Chincha Islands where both died. This is entirely confirmed by oral tradition. Te Haha mentions Kaimakoi as the son of Nga-ara and Maurata as his grandson, and it is in this order that they figure in Thomson's list. I have given the father of Nga-ara as Kaimakoi and Nga-ara's son as Kaimakoi-iti (Kaimakoi-the-small). Unless we assume that Kaimakoi died immediately after the death of his father, Nga-ara, there is little doubt that he was reigning

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173 at the time of the Peruvian raid and that he was carried away with his son, Maurata. Since Maurata probably died after his father, he might well be considered the last king of Easter Island. Geiseler (87, p. 22), speaking of Maurata as the last king of the island, adds that "he was kidnapped with his brother Kaimakoi." Cooke (54, p. 713), the surgeon of the *Mohican*, makes Maurata and Kaimakoi one and the same person: "The last king of the Rapa nuiis, Maurata, also called Kaimakoi . . . "

Gregorio, the child king who died in 1866 at the age of 12, succeeded Te Pito who is given by Jaussen as the successor of Maurata. Te Pito was one of the few Easter Islanders to be returned from the Chincha Islands. In De Lapelin's notes (129, p. 109), Te Pito is mentioned as the brother of Kaimakoi and Gregorio. Very likely he was the brother of Kaimakoi and the paternal uncle of Maurata, but he can hardly have been the brother of Gregorio. Palmer's allusion (171, p. 181) to the son of Rotopito (Te Pito), who died in 1864, possibly refers to Gregorio who would thus have been the son of Te Pito. Such uncertainty about the names of important men of only two generations ago makes one skeptical of the historical usefulness of the lists. Only Thomson's document seems to be accurate in the names of the last kings.

643 With the death of Gregorio in 1866 the kingship came to an end. Missionaries and travelers mention no successor. Pinart (178, p. 236) speaks of Koreto as the queen of the island, but his statements are not always reliable. Koreto's position as wife of Dutroux-Bornier, the despotic ruler of the island, undoubtedly gave her exceptional power. One of Koreto's children is still living, but I have never heard that she had the slightest royal prerogative or pretention. Koreto was only the wife of a chief (215, p. 473) before she became the mistress of Dutroux-Bornier. When Geiseler (87, p. 23) inquired about her, he was told that a queen of that name had never existed. A man called Kaitae was designated to Thomson (215, p. 461) and Cooke (54, p. 713) as the descendant and successor of the last king of Easter Island. Routledge and I have shown Thomson's photograph of Kaitae to the islanders, but even the oldest informant remembers neither the man nor his name.

Not until Chile had taken possession of the island did the question of a king again arise. Although the islanders of today speak of the late kings, Atamu Te Kena and Riroroko, as if they were really kings, informants make it clear that their power was indefinite, and that they enjoyed few of the prerogatives of former *ariki*. Perhaps their only claim to the title lay in their descent line; both belonged to the Miru group. Personal pretention supported by Chilean officers who needed a responsible intermediary to deal with the population might have contributed toward the restoration of power to this fictitious and ephemeral royalty. Atamu Te Kena Maurata was made a "king" by the Bishop of Tahiti, Tepano Jaussen, who needed some one on the island to represent the interests of the missionaries. (See Estella, 79, p. 118.) He

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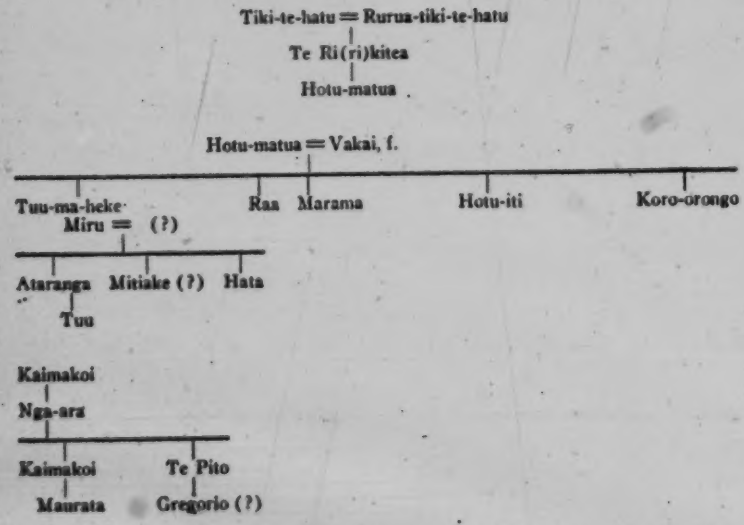
died about 1890 and was succeeded by Riroroko. In 1898 Riroroko went to Chile to complain about abuses perpetrated on the natives. He died a few days after landing in Valparaiso, probably from overindulgence in brandy. Since his time, there has been no other king on the island. Twenty years ago the Chilean officers of the *Baquedano* tried to proclaim my informant, Juan Tepano, king (219, p. 21). His new dignity was conferred upon him in a public ceremony, but no one took it very seriously, not even the new sovereign himself. There is still on the island a Riroroko, son of the late king, who could pretend to royal dignity, but he seems disinterested.

I have tried to reconstruct from the bits of evidence at hand a few genealogical sequences. I realize well upon what uncertain bases these conjectural genealogies rest, but they serve to show how arbitrarily the lists of kings have been formed.

Reconstructed Genealogies




We shall never know who were the old *ariki-mau* of the island or how many reigned before the collapse of native culture. The most trustworthy document, if the personality of the collector and the time he spent on Easter Island are considered, is Roussel's original list. It must have contained 22 names, which do not correspond to the same number of generations. At least five generations should be deleted from the list, leaving about 18. Routledge and I both record 30 kings. The length of Thomson's list (57 kings) is

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173 possible only because mythical names are mixed with historical ones and series
174 of names seem to have been grouped quite arbitrarily. There is no hint in
643 any of the lists that the first kings were mythical characters. Any guess concerning the actual number of generations of kings would be quite unfounded. Perhaps it was between 20 and 30 for the reigns were short, since it was the custom for the kings to abdicate when their sons married.

## POLYNESIAN TRADITIONS OF VOYAGES TO EASTER ISLAND

### From Rapa

173 Forty years ago Couteaud, a French surgeon, visited Rapa several times. He claims to have heard there the following traditions (55, pp. 90, 91) which he probably adapted to Rapa from the legends of Hotu-matua and the Long-ears, learned from Alexander Salmon:

> Long ago, Hotu-matua, king of Rapa, was vanquished in war. He fled with his retainers in three canoes loaded with food. Westerly winds drove them to Rapa-nui. Only the king's canoe filled with fowls, bananas, and taro roots could cover the great distance separating the two islands. Rapa-nui was inhabited by warriors with long ears, who were killed by the invaders. Only the women and girls were spared. Since that time, twenty-two generations of kings have reigned on Rapa-nui. The first king was Hotu-matua, and the names of the entire dynasty are preserved in modern documents.
>
> After a long voyage a canoe from Rapa-nui arrived at Rapa. It contained only women, who landed half dead of hunger and thirst. No man lived then on the empty land of Rapa. The women did not know how to perpetuate their race. On the advice of one of their number, they dived into the sea, stretched their arms toward Rapa-nui, and called on their gods. Their prayers were granted. Some became pregnant and the race was established forever.

Couteaud interprets the last legend as expressing merely a close connection between the two islands. He adds (55, p. 91): " . . . the accounts of the old men assert that both countries recognized the authority of one king residing on Rapa, whose last descendant I met twenty-five years ago." The few papers published by Couteaud have no scientific value, and his traditions of former migrations to Easter Island are mentioned here only because they are substantiated by further evidence collected by Stokes (212). The best informants of Stokes, Teraau and Ngariki, gave him three accounts of voyages from Rapa to Easter Island, which indicate that in Rapa there definitely existed a tradition of a migration to the east. These are presented in the chronological order adopted by the natives:

> Tamatiki, son and grandson of Tiki, the first man in Rapa, voyaged to Easter Island and named it Rapa-taaga after his own land. He died in Easter Island, and news of his arrival, his descendants, and his death in that island reached Rapa many generations later through Te Kotokoto.
>
> In the second voyage, Temarango, also known as Rango, left Rapa with three canoes, each containing forty men and no women. One canoe stopped at Morotiti, about fifty miles to the east. Another canoe was never heard of again. The third canoe, under Temarango, reached its objective.
>
> Te Kotokoto, a native of Rapa, went to Easter Island and lived there until extremely

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old. Then he returned to Rapa. He brought back news of the arrival of Tamatiki at Easter Island and of his death there many generations before. He also saw the grave of Tamatiki. There were many descendants of Tamatiki with Rapan names; at Easter Island the name of the island was Rapa-taanga, given by Tamatiki in memory of Rapa. According to Te Kotokoto's account, the natives of Easter Island had large gaping holes in their ears into which they put bamboo pipes and other articles. The pipes were used for smoking tobacco and were made of a bamboo joint with a hole cut through the side. The tobacco grew with a long, pointed leaf like the present Tahitian tobacco.

The Tamatiki tradition of emigration is decidedly doubtful, as it depends mainly on the truth of the Te Kotokoto tradition. According to other information received in Rapa, Tamatiki lived and died there.

Stokes' informants agreed as to the details of Temarango's voyage but differed as to the country he reached in this migration. Ngariki claimed it to be Easter Island. Teraau thought it was New Zealand, although he did not recall its Rapan name. Ngariki further said that news of Temarango's arrival at Easter Island reached Rapa only in recent time. Ngariki had visited Easter Island, where the natives told him they knew Temarango, and they pointed out Temarango's canoe which had since turned to stone. Ngariki even heard of a village named Tama after Temarango.

Stokes thinks that Te Kotokoto and Temarango were the same person or two leaders who went together on one voyage, but this does not make the migration more credible.

When the Rapan people heard of Easter Island they decided that it was the land reached by the chief who sailed eastward. In 1834 Moerenhout had already employed Rapan sailors, and the Nuiafau Fakaoho group which landed on Rapa in 1863 had come from Peru on the same ship with the Easter Islanders who were returned to their home country.

### From Rarotonga

Easter Island is mentioned twice in Rarotongan traditions under the name of Rapa-nui. The island is the first in the list of lands visited by Ui-te-rangiora at the time of the scattering of the Avaiki people (209, vol. 28, pp. 67, 74). In about 1250 A.D. the famous navigator Tangiia visited Rapa-nui to find Taputapu-atea, the son of Iro (cf. Maori Whiro). Tangiia took the boy on his vessel and sailed back to Moorea (209, vol. 28, p. 192). No doubt the name Rapa-nui was inserted in the legend of Tangiia after the natives of the Cook Islands heard of Easter Island through contact with other Polynesians.

### From Mangareva

Since Mangareva is near Easter Island it is logical to assume that the Polynesian migration to Easter Island started from there. Present-day Mangarevans believe that the land called Mata-ki-te-rangi to which their ancestors sailed refers to Easter Island. However Mangarevan traditions of voyages to

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173 this land recorded by Buck (28, p. 26), describe it as a high land where landing is arduous and located to the south of Mangareva. "It is fairly close to here" and is definitely associated with breadfruit trees which do not grow on the barren hills of Easter Island. In fact, the only island to which all these details would apply is Pitcairn. The traditional text says of Mata-ki-te-rangi, ". . . the land was very like Pitcairn in very truth," which may be translated to mean "that the land was in truth Pitcairn." In Mangareva Pitcairn was called Erangi or Herangi, which Buck believes to be an abbreviated form of Mata-ki-te-rangi or Kai-rangi. In the native history, a god sent a vision to Rangahenua telling him to go to Herangi; therefore Rangahenua sailed to Mata-ki-te-rangi.

Identification of Easter Island with Mata-ki-te-rangi has occurred in post-European time when communication between Mangareva and Easter Island was frequent. When Laval wrote his manuscript on Mangareva, Rapa-nui had already been proposed by the natives as the equivalent of Easter Island. At about the same time a Mangarevan told some people in Tahiti, probably the missionaries, that his ancestors had emigrated to Easter Island, where they found a population which they exterminated. This tradition was reported to De Lapelin (129, p. 108, note 1) by a Mangarevan who must have been on Easter Island for he used to say, when he ended his account, "Have you not seen above Anakena the big heaps of stones? These are the walls of our ancestors."

This detail impressed Routledge, who remarks (194, p. 295) that though there are no signs of fortifications in Anakena, one of the hills east of this cove had been entrenched for some reason. It is called Maunga-hauepe, and Brown (27, p. 59) with vivid imagination, compares it to a Maori fortified village (*pa*) and attributes its construction to Hotu-matua, who erected it to resist the population he found on the island. On several occasions I ascended this hill but failed to find any sign of entrenchment. The hill is composed of volcanic ash and is unsuitable for defense. The depression at the top of the hill is natural. On the slope of the mountain, between Anakena and Ovahe, is an enclosure made of loose stones. The natives asserted repeatedly that this wall was an ancient corral. The entrenchment seen by the Mangarevans, which they believed to be the remainder of the fort built by Rangahenua was probably composed of blocks from the numerous ahus scattered there.

Although Polynesians have included the name of Easter Island in their traditions and attributed its discovery to legendary characters of their country, most of these identifications are late interpolations or rationalizations of old legends made up when the existence of a land far in the east became known

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to them after contact with European civilization. It is almost certain that before the coming of the white men, no reference to Easter Island existed in the native traditions of any other Polynesian island.

## THE INDIVIDUAL IN SOCIETY

The small native community concentrated in the village of Hanga-roa presents today construction quite different from that which would have been observed before the collapse of the old culture. The intermixture of tribes has entirely changed the relationship of the individual to society and has abolished all ancient regulations and mutual obligations. Nowadays the only unity within the village is the biological family, whose importance has been maintained and perhaps increased since the introduction of the Catholic religion.

The present population of Hanga-roa village would be an interesting field for the study of changing culture and adaptation. Easter Islanders are the only Polynesians who have been subjected to the influence of a Spanish-speaking country. Contact with South American people has developed a type of society worthy of study and comparison with social conditions of Polynesians on other islands.

The culture pattern of Easter Island has been so greatly modified that very little information may be obtained as to the type of relationship observed in olden days. It is likely that after long contact with the natives certain tendencies which have been transmitted unaltered from pre-European times would be noticed, but these would be difficult to determine as they are not crystallized into specific institutions. They probably belong to the category of widespread attitudes observed by Polynesians in general. As most of my time on the island was spent in an attempt to reconstruct the past, I had little opportunity to study the new mode of life. So little is known of the past that it is impossible to determine whether the behavior followed by present natives is a survival of an ancient pattern or an adaptation due to changed conditions.

### THE HOUSEHOLD

On Easter Island there are fifty houses for the present population of 456 natives, an average of nine persons for each house. The households include grandparents, parents and their children, brothers with their wives and children, and very often relatives or friends who are "visiting." The custom of living for an indefinite period in the home of a relative or friend is so common that it is a well-established institution. If a family is without resources, all or some of its members settle in the house of some other family. They are always welcomed and no one considers them parasites. "Visitors" usually choose a well-provided house. I found a few people who lived permanently in the homes of friends. Most of these were unmarried women with chil-

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and his mother was very careful to avoid holding food over him, as any food that touched his head must be discarded. My informant Victoria inadvertently carried sweet potatoes in her child's hat and was obliged to throw them away because they had come in indirect contact with the child's head. When a child was old enough to marry, his head was no longer sacred.

Modern children have a carefree existence, perhaps not very different from that of old days. They gather near the beach and spend the entire day playing or swimming in the sea. They are particularly fond of riding and are excellent horsemen from an early age. Some of them accompany their parents in shore fishing, and I knew a little girl 11 years old who caught fish with a small spear. Young children help their parents, and many fathers are pleased to rid themselves of all work and to transmit it to their sons.

### SECLUSION

Legends tell of girls who were kept in seclusion (*huru*) inside huts so that they might acquire a fair complexion. When they appeared in public later, they aroused great admiration for the whiteness of their skin. According to one popular Easter Island tale, the girl in seclusion was daily washed (*hopu*), deloused (*aruke kutu*), combed (*harihari*), stained (*akui*) with turmeric and red earth, and her clitoris was stretched (*haro matatuu*) so that it would be long and hanging.

Easter Islanders pointed out to me two caves in Poike which were said to have been inhabited by *neru*, boys and girls who were separated according to sex and were secluded by their parents in caves where they lived for years. They were probably of chiefly families and, as in Mangareva, were isolated in order to become white and stout and to manifest by their appearance the distinguished position of their families. Attendants of their own sex cared for them. Their parents brought them food, and it is said that during the smallpox epidemic of 1863 many of the *neru* died of starvation because there was no one left to feed them. They lived in idleness and allowed their nails to grow long. It may be recalled that the wooden hand, purchased by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 582-583) on Easter Island and given by him to the British Museum has long nails, thus proving the accuracy of at least part of the tradition. The *neru* sometimes appeared at feasts but stayed a little apart from other people. The fact that the secluded boys and girls lived in chastity induced the natives of later times to translate the word *neru* as virgin, nun, or women observing celibacy. The following songs refer to the *neru*:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ka huru koe, neru e, i te ana. | You are secluded, O *neru*, in the cave. |
| Tautau ipu kiea o nga neru. | Hanging is the gourd with red ocher of the *neru*. |
| Tuai era ka huru koe, neru e. | You have been secluded for a long time, O *neru*. |
| | |
| A te manava he mate, | I am in love, |
| Ka huru koe, neru e, | You are secluded, O *neru*, |
| Ka huru kataia ritorito. | Being secluded you have become white. |

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All traditions of the seclusion of children rest on an authentic custom, the memory of which has not been entirely lost. Both De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 81) and members of Gonzalez' expedition (90, p. 40) mention having seen huts where children were apparently secluded, guarded by adults.

### FEAST HOUSE

A large house (*hare nui*) was built before a feast (*koro*) where young people gathered to play and sing. They lived in more or less promiscuity, and tradition says that they had many opportunities to make love and to have sexual intercourse. Foundations were laid for many marriages during the feast, but as evidenced by numerous tales, the feast houses were not for the young people only but for all invited guests. Routledge was told that the young people who shared in the dances had to be "white" (*ritorito*) which in Easter Island is almost synonymous with "fine." Routledge (194, p. 235) writes: "In connection with some or all of the *kaunga* (dancing grounds) there was a house where the party remained indoors for a long time previous to the dances, in order 'to get their complexions,' a touch which shows that a white skin was admired." In traditional records of *koro* some confusion may have arisen between the seclusion before the feast and the actual *koro*.

### INITIATION RITES

When the children between the ages of 13 and 15 years were submitted to seclusion, rites were celebrated which had perhaps the character of a consecration. Little is known about these ceremonies, and their significance is obscure. The boys and girls who went through the ceremonies were termed *poki take* and *poki manu* (bird children). Routledge (194, p. 266) was told that the *take* ceremonies were dropped about 30 years before the arrival of the missionaries and that no living person had attended such a ceremony. The oldest man in the village when Routledge was there stated that the *take* ceremony was intended for adults and that the father performed the rites when the son was born. My information was obtained from Viriamo through Tepano. She said that boys and girls were sent to Motu-nui when they were 13 years of age. They sojourned on the island for three months, living in separate caves. Food was taken to them in canoes, and ornaments (*tahonga*, wooden balls) and special breechcloths of tapa called *hami mama* were sent them by their parents. The children were given red and white ocher (*kiea* and *marikuru*) for the painting of their bodies. White bands were painted around the arms and feet, concentric white circles on the back at the level of the waist, and two white rings on the buttocks.

The ceremony following seclusion was called *te manu mo ta poki* (the bird for the child). I could discover no better explanation of this feast and its benefit than that given by Routledge, which is vague and probably incor-

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Gana is such a doubtful authority that we cannot know to what extent his depiction of the condition of slaves conforms to reality. It is certainly true that the vanquished were taken to the district of the victors and were employed in menial work. The transfer of families and individuals from one region to another might have aided in the mixture of the tribes.

Some tribes, the Hamea and the Raa for instance, were entirely included within the territory of another group, in this instance the Miru. This is a typical example of the subdivision of a large group into smaller groups. Three tribes (or subtribes) of the east, the Tupa-hotu, the Ureohei (Hitiura), and the Koro-orongo, had no districts of their own, but were mixed and scattered between the north coast and the south coast, east of Anakena and Akahanga, in the region called Hotu-iti. Hotu-iti might have been the name of a tribe, descended from the youngest son of Hotu-matua, which was subdivided into the above-mentioned subtribes, thus explaining the close association of the Tupa-hotu, Ureohei, and Koro-orongo as well as the absence of any distinct area belonging to each of the three groups.

Each tribe had a common ancestor, usually a son or a grandson of Hotu-matua, discoverer and first king of the island. When Hotu-matua knew death was near, he summoned a council of chiefs and the " . . . island was divided into districts and portioned out to the children of the king." To Tuu-maheke, the eldest son and successor to Hotu-matua, were given the royal establishment and lands extending northwest from Anakena as far as Maunga Teatea; to Miru, the second son, the lands between Anakena and Hanga-roa; to Marama, the third son, the land between Akahanga and Vinapu; to Raa, the fourth son, the land lying north and west of Maunga Teatea, which was called Hangoteo; to Koro-orongo (incorrectly spelled Koronga-ronga by Thomson), the fifth son, the lands between Anakena and the crater of Rano-raraku; to Hotu-iti, the sixth son, the east side of the island (215, p. 527). There are some inaccuracies and obscurities in the traditional division, as, for example, the inclusion of Raa as a son of Hotu-matua. In view of the following myth which describes the complicated descent of the Hamea and Raa from the Miru through two brothers and one mother, it is quite improbable that Raa was counted among the sons of Hotu-matua as the ancestor of a primary group.

A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. Taka and Parapuna, two young men of Miru, hid in a cave below Vai-mata with a Miru woman. The woman was pregnant by the eldest brother Taka. Nine months later when she was about to be delivered, she swam with Taka and Parapuna from the cave to Mahatua, where they arrived in the night. The two brothers had a cousin married to a Tupa-hotu who lived there and they walked directly to her house. From outside they asked, "You, our dear sister, are you here?" The cousin answered, "Who are you?" "We are Taka and Parapuna and we bring your sister-in-law who is about to be delivered. That is why we came to you." Their cousin came out and they wept together. She sent them into the cave Ana Omu where they could be hidden. The pregnant woman felt the pains of

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173 labor and the cousin assisted with the birth. The child was a boy. His navel cord was bitten by an old man named Humu-ave, who was later killed by the Tupa-hotu.

619 The elder brother gave his wife to his younger brother so that he could have a child of his own. Nine months later a male child was born. The woman returned to Taka and she became pregnant by him. This child was also a male. Then she was again given to the younger brother and a second boy was born to him. The woman was again pregnant with the third child of Taka. Later a third child was born to Parapuna. Each brother had a fourth child by the same woman. The children grew up. The people of Hamea and Raa were exterminated by the Tupa-hotu, but the enemies had not succeeded in capturing Taka and Parapuna who became progenitors of the Hamea and Raa groups, the younger one of the descent group of Hamea. The people multiplied. There was no longer a war so they returned to their country, Peperenga, near the bay of Hangoteo.

Peperenga, the place where the two brothers settled, was not far from Puna Marengo, or Hangoteo Bay, where there is an ahu called Taka Parapuna, belonging to the Hamea and Raa groups. In Estella's list (79, p. 63) of the tribes of Easter Island, Raa is mentioned as the name of the "tribe of Hangoteo."

The above legend and facts do not agree with Routledge's map, based on native information, in which the Hamea are located in the exact region of Hangoteo, and the Raa are placed together with other Hamea groups east of Anakena. According to my sources of information, most of those groups were established near Hangoteo, at the northern end of the island.

619 Supposing the traditional land division to be accurate, there would remain five groups (Haumoana, Ngatimo, Ngaure, Tupa-hotu, and Hitiuira) whose origin cannot be attributed with certainty to any known ancestor or to any ancestor whose name can be placed on a genealogical record. A logical supposition is that the curious absence of a definite district associated with the names of Hitiuira and Tupa-hotu indicates that these tribes have developed since the other groups to whom special territory was allotted. The greater importance of Marama in comparison with Ngatimo and Haumoana tends to indicate that the latter were originally subtribes of that important *mata*.

572 582 571 In speaking of the social organization of the past, the natives frequently use the word *tumu* which they do not entirely understand and cannot definitely define. Routledge and Williamson (228, vol. 2, p. 145) were both puzzled by the word. Routledge refers in her note to a "mysterious word *tumu*" which she believed to mean only "neighbour". She says " . . . it was vaguely believed that originally one only married one's *tumu*; but no such restriction existed in known time." Williamson (228, vol. 2, p. 145) believes that *tumu* "might possibly mean a human group, represented primarily by its main trunk family, and having its common origin or head. In that case, however, we should expect that the *tumu* would represent the group of people into which a man might not marry." I obtained the following definitions of *tumu*: "*Tumu* is a group from which you may get a wife. The *tumu* is a friend,

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643 quite possible that the same tapu applied to the other members of the Miru
262 tribe (194, p. 242). The *mahore, kotea, pahika, teteme,* and *kahi* (tuna) were
784 the only fish allowed the king. The tapu on tuna fishing during the winter months (p. 173) did not apply to the king and a few noblemen. During the tapu period expert fishermen went to catch tuna in the king's boat which was called *vaka-vaero* and was decorated with cock feathers. All fish caught from the *vaka-vaero* were presented to the king, who kept them for his own use or, more often, distributed them among the important old men (*tangata-honui*). The first *kahi* taken after the lifting of the tapu in summer were taken to the king, who tasted a bit and gave the rest to the *tangata-honui*. The food for the king was strictly tapu and only the *haka-paapa* could touch it.

### DRESS

643 The dress of the king was similar to that of any wealthy man. He wore
291 a beautiful tapa cloak stained yellow (*nua*) with turmeric and "feather hats
386 of various descriptions." From his neck, both back and front, hung six
301 wooden balls (*tahonga*) and six small wooden crescents (*rei-miro*) with
826 small shell tassels (*rei-pipipipi*) dangling from them. The only distinguishing physical characteristic of the sons of kings was an alleged growth of down under the eyes.

### RESIDENCE

644 Nga-ara, the last king who died with full rank, had his headquarters at
764 Anakena, which is the most pleasant part of the island. This was the beach
533 chosen by the discoverers of the island for their king, Hotu-matua. There Hotu-matua landed and died. From that time on the bones of the kings and of the members of the Honga lineage were buried in the ahus which still surround the cove. Near them are to be seen the foundations of a school of chanters, in front of which people gathered to hear the recitations and chants. Modern natives are fond of this cove where hills dominate a long beach which slopes gently to the sea and where swimming is pleasant (pl. 1, *B*).

173 According to a tradition which I was unable to check, each new king went
644 to live at Ahu-a-kapu, near Tahai on the west coast. Later, when he had yielded his authority to his son, he went to ahu Tahai and then to Anakena where he spent his last years. Nga-ara was the only king who died in Tahai, and his remains were buried in the large ahu there. The young princes were raised in a village called Papa-o-pea, near ahu Ohau, not far from Ahu-te-peu. The literature on Easter Island contains only one allusion to the kings' changes of residence. However, Routledge (194, p. 279) has recorded a tradition in which Hotu-matua quarreled with his eldest son, Tuu-ma-heke, to whom he ceded his position and then retired to the top of the Rano-kao, where he lived on the southern side of the crater, opposite Orongo. Traditions

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connected with the ruins of Anakena prove that it was an important site and the one most closely associated with the memory of kings. There is no doubt that it was a royal residence, but with the present lack of knowledge, the frequent and obligatory changes of the king's home are inexplicable and will undoubtedly remain so. Perhaps such changes concerned only a few kings of historical times and cannot be generalized.

### SUCCESSION TO POWER

A king resigned his power in favor of his first-born son when he married. My informant, Juan Tepano, was positive about this fact which is confirmed by Roussel (190, p. 360): "The king resigned on the occasion of the marriage of his son, but his wedding could be delayed for a long time, since the custom of the country allowed him to marry only at an advanced age." This custom is similar to that in Mangareva where the chief yielded the rule to his son before his death. In the Marquesas, if Gracia's statement (91, p. 103) is correct, the eldest son of the chief took the title and rank of his father on the day of his birth while the old chief remained a sort of regent. In Tahiti, the child of a chief took the title and office of his father soon after birth; during the minority of the child the "father exercised all authority, though in the name of the child" (70, vol. 1, p. 260).

### INFLUENCE OVER NATURE

The bearing of the king on the magico-economic activity of his people is shown not only in the influence of his mana on the welfare of the people but also in his power over nature. When King Tuu-ma-heke was born a new mollusk called *kovare* appeared in the sea. White chickens multiplied at the birth of King Rokoroko-he-tau. There is still a belief among the natives that a great many plants vanished from the island with the kings who controlled them. The favorite variety of sweet potato called *huatea* is no longer found on Easter Island for it could not exist without the king who made it grow, explained my informant. Since the kidnapping of Maurata and his family no tortoises have appeared on the shore.

The following chant celebrated the king's beneficent influence upon nature, especially on the sources of staple foods. The chant is here presented as reconstructed and retranslated by me with the aid of Tepano. It had formerly been transcribed freely and erroneously by Thomson (251, pp. 523-524).

What does the king make fertile in the country?
Mars comes up, appears in the sky. The king makes the shoots of the white sweet-potatoes grow in the country.
Now he makes the sweet-potatoes favorable, the sky favorable, the ancestors favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The crayfish, the *poopoo* fish, the conger eels, the *nohu* fish (*ape* fish?), the king makes fertile in the country.

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Islanders in 1856, saw several European boats in possession of natives. He thinks that few canoes were made on the island. One of my informants, a woman of good judgment, told me that while fishing her grandfather was carried by a storm to Salas y Gomez reef, 200 miles from Easter Island. On his return he had a boat tattooed on his cheek to commemorate his adventure. If this voyage was actually made, it was certainly on a whaleboat.

When Eyraud went to the island for the first time the natives insisted that he build a boat for them. The missionary was reluctant, for he doubted that the wood supply was sufficient for that. The natives, who were not disheartened, shouted, "We have more wood than we need," and they collected every available scrap. With their help, Eyraud built a boat, which proved wholly inadequate when launched. When an Easter Islander, who had been absent for a few years, returned, chiefs with their retainers seized the boat on which he was coming ashore and fought for its possession until the boat was destroyed (230, vol. 6, p. 121).

These incidents express strikingly a deep-rooted love of navigation, despite the handicaps of nature.

### Comparison with Other Polynesian Canoes

The Polynesians who colonized Easter Island must have traveled in double canoes. This is substantiated by the tradition that Hotu-matua and his followers arrived in two boats lashed together. The expression "a piece of wood," that Hornell (109, p. 103) interprets as referring to a raft, is an erroneous translation of the word *oraora*, the name of the craft on which traveled the six scouts sent by Hotu-matua (p. 56).

Easter Island canoes, though poor, retained traits which connect them with boats of other more favored parts of Polynesia. The typical raised ends of Easter Island canoes are characteristic of those in the Tuamotus (old model of a canoe), the Marquesas, New Zealand, Hawaii, and Mangareva. The upturned ends of Easter Island canoes (fig. 18, *a*) had a spatulate form which might be compared with the curved terminal of Hawaiian canoes, though these are much lower.

Evidence that double-outrigger canoes existed on Easter Island is exceedingly weak, resting solely on Choris' drawing. However, it has been accepted by Dixon (60, p. 76) who considers the supposed Easter Island double outrigger to be a sign of former, wider distribution of this type in Polynesia. As other proofs of the presence of double outriggers in Polynesia, Dixon refers to New Zealand, the Marquesas, and Samoa about which he is dubious. Hornell (109, pp. 31, 198) discards, with convincing arguments, the former existence of the double outrigger in New Zealand and in the Marquesas. A loose use of words is responsible for the statement that double outriggers exist in Samoa (109, p. 239). If the double-outrigger canoe was

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sugar cane. To refuse to contribute food for the maintenance of the bird-man was an offence which could be punished by the burning of one's house. The bird-man dropped his old name and adopted a new one, mysteriously revealed to him; it became also the name of the year. Thus the bird cult was the basis for a convenient system of chronology.

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All those who, like the missionaries, were on Easter Island when the bird cult was functioning, stress the violence which inevitably followed the selection of the bird-man. They imply that he had temporal powers similar to those of a chief. Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 256) states that the bird-man had "tyrannic power." "The defeated are shamefully relegated to a corner of the island where they starve and die because of cold. With the installment of the new power, burnings and plunderings start. Woe to the man who owns some sweet potatoes or chickens. The chief [bird-man] with his followers will fall upon the houses like birds of prey."

Gana (86, p. 33) was told, probably by the missionaries, that the bird-man was an "important chief whose functions last a year" and whose attributes were of a military nature. Roussel (190, p. 427) writes that the bird-man had authority for daily and nightly marauding and the fooling of the people and for "spending the year in continuous childish and wanton feasts." During the harvest feasts "the *mata-toa* [bird-men] left their caves of the Mataveri mountain," and swooped down like vultures upon everything which suited them (190, p. 428). Rarely did these feasts pass without trouble, since the *mata-toa* quarreled about the booty. The man who was designated by Make-make as bird-man for the year was entitled to a large share of the food distributed at feasts.

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Routledge gives no hint of the military sway of the bird-man, such as implied by missionary accounts. Perhaps there is some connection between the acts of violence recorded by early observers and the statement by one of Routledge's informants that those who did not contribute food to the bird-man were punished by having their houses burned. Perhaps the bitterness of the defeat or the insolence of the victorious group led to serious arguments and even war. Evidence given by the last of the surviving contenders or by witnesses of the bird cult stress the dread consequences these contests had on the peace of the island.

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The old men who informed Routledge gave her 86 names of bird-men; probably most of these names were also those of the years when each man was made *tangata-manu*. Routledge (194, p. 226) remarks that "chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to the final celebration at Orongo. In addition to the bird-name, the name of both winner and *hopu* were ascertained, with those of their respective clans." When Tepano's paternal uncle, Rue, became *tangata-manu*, he gave his bird-name,

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Rokunga[17], to his nephew. Tepano was born during the year Utupiro, thus named by a bird-man called Pua-arahoa, who chose the name Utupiro for himself and for the year. Tepano's account confirms Routledge's statement (194, p. 260) as to the nomination of the bird-man which she says "might be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee, it might descend to his son or grandson."

*Tangata-manu* were buried in a special ahu called Orohie which was not far from the house where the bird-men were secluded. The ahu, like all of this section of Rano-raraku, is in poor condition now. It was (194, p. 264) "a low rough wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled and paved." When a *tangata-manu* died, five cocks were tied to each of his feet. People of all the tribes came with cocks, and *tangata-manu* of other years were present at the feast. They stood a little apart, not mingling freely with the other people, and untied the cocks attached to the dead man's feet. Presents of cocks were received by the son of the *tangata-manu*, but he could not eat them. The cocks which had touched the ground of the ahu where his father lay were especially tapu.

The tapus which surrounded the bird-man extended to the *hopu*. During the year following his discovery of the egg he could either go to Orohie or reside in his own house where he was obliged to live in a corner separated from the other people by a partition. The hand which touched the egg was so sacred that he could not use it in eating. His sacredness was contagious to his wife and his children who were also secluded and were not permitted to join other people.

The bird-man relinquished his retreat after one year, and the new bird-man took his place. He either concealed the old egg in a cranny of Rano-raraku, threw it into the sea, or preserved it to be buried with him. No tapus upon a *tangata-manu* after his seclusion have been recorded.

According to Routledge (192, p. 349) there was another search for eggs, several weeks after the first quest, entrusted to the *ao*[18] who had settled at Mataveri. They went to Motu-nui to get the young *manu-tara* known as *piu* and to gather many eggs. These were put in baskets, tied to the foreheads of the swimmers, and thus brought to the land. They were taken around the island and, according to one account, as far as Orohie. Routledge (192, p. 349) writes:

> It was not until the *piu* had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the eggs, the period of commencement being known as "Toro", and they were then consumed by the Mata-kio only, not by the Mata-toa; the first two or three eggs, it was explained, were given to the god, to eat them would prove fatal.
>
> Some of the young *manu-tara* were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied around the wing and leg and they were told: "Ka oho ki te hiva." "Go to the world outside;" there was no objection to eating the young birds.

[18] Rokunga, according to Routledge (192, p. 351), was the name of the last bird-man. The last feast was performed at Orongo in 1866 or 1867. To gain prestige, Tepano has probably applied to himself what he heard about the past.

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
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do well for themselves by barter with the white sailors who visit the island, but the women cannot be so provided for. They complain bitterly of the difficulty they have in satisfying their coquettish taste.

For an anthropologist, the material on Easter Island is rather scant. The old culture has nearly gone. No Westerner ever saw it while it was still functioning. The data on the past, which can be gathered, are limited to statements or tales which a few people have heard from fathers or grandfathers. Nevertheless, I was surprised to find a relatively rich folklore, which helped me to understand many aspects of the ancient civilization. Both legends and anecdotes stress cannibalism, which seems to have haunted the imagination of the Easter Islanders before the arrival of Christianity.

Those who expect to find in these traditions any evidence for the existence of a civilization previous to that of the Polynesians will be sadly disappointed. There is not a single feature of the Easter Island lore that does not point toward Polynesian origin. The language itself is pure Polynesian, and no words now in use hint of a legacy from any other linguistic stock.

These are the main facts to bear in mind as we turn to the problem posed by the mysterious gigantic statues and the inscribed tablets. But before we go into it, we must first consider what is to be said of the theory that the island is a peak of a sunken continent, since upon this assumption the classic interpretation of its mysteries has for a long time rested. There is no scientific evidence that Easter Island is the wreckage of such a sunken continent—Lemuria or Atlantis. It is plainly a typical volcanic island of recent origin, formed by a series of eruptions originating on the floor of the ocean. Soundings have revealed a depth of 1,770 fathoms 20 miles from its coast. Moreover, when the island was settled by Polynesian migrants it does not seem to have been much more extensive than it is now. Its coasts are subjected to continual erosion from the waves, and it is true that during the last decades a few of the monuments which once stood on the top of a high cliff have been precipitated into the sea. But since the ancient sanctuaries were erected along the shore, if the erosion had been very great, all of them would have been washed away by now. There has also been a question about a great road which, it is said, ran to the shore of the island and continued under water, suggesting that the shore was once much farther out. The famous French writer, Pierre Loti, was, if I am not mistaken, the first to mention this "triumphal avenue," which he thought would lead to the heart of the mystery. On a simple statement of this traveling poet visions of submerged glory have been based, and many good minds have allowed their imaginations to follow the submarine road down to enchanted palaces. The truth is that no such road exists. What Loti took for

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In my opinion, the seemingly sudden interruption of work in the quarry is the most puzzling problem presented by Easter Island. Such an abrupt stoppage in the sculptors' activity suggests some unforeseen catastrophe, some extraordinary event which upset the entire life of the place. The natives have always had the idea that magic was at the bottom of the trouble whatever it was. There is a legend among them that an old sorceress, forgotten perhaps at a feast, may in her rage have put a curse on the quarry which frightened the workers forever away.

If we reject this fabulous story, we have no explanation of the phenomenon for which there is any basis however slight. Was there possibly some surprise attack by a hostile group on the island in which all the skilled stone carvers were killed? Was there an attack from chance invaders? Were the natives suddenly overwhelmed by a violent epidemic, or did something about their first contact with white men cause them to lay down their tools once for all? We do not know the answer, and I doubt if we shall ever have any light on it.

Whatever the truth about the end of their work, it appears that the last of the stone carvers were under the spell of a megalomaniac dream. Some of the unfinished statues are of enormous size, one of them 60 feet tall. Others are to be found in places out of which it seems impossible that they could ever have been taken. Perhaps their sculptors never intended to move these isolated giants.

There are two types of Easter Island statues—those which still stand in the crater or at the foot of the volcano Ranoraraku, and those which once surmounted the *ahu* or burial places. Though they are of the same stone and of the same general style, there are differences which are worth stressing.

A word must be said about the burial places, which were situated at frequent intervals all along the shore in a line that encircled the island. Most of them were huge stone structures of a peculiar plan developed from the primitive cairn. In these large mausoleums, the crude heap of stones has evolved into a real monument through the use of a retaining wall. This wall, which formed a façade always facing seaward, was built of slabs or regular blocks of stone carefully fitted together into beautiful, smooth surfaces. Behind this is a level platform, and then a gradual slope backward, filled in with coarse rubble. The central portion of the façade juts out, like the apron of a stage, and on the top of this projecting part of the platform stood a row of statues with their faces turned inland. In the long slope leading up to this sacred place the dead were buried.

The figures of the mausoleums or sanctuaries were in the nature of huge busts, the head being disproportionately large in relation to what appears of the body. The back of the head goes straight up from the shoulders and, with the vertical lines of the ears, gives the head a

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mulberry, which the natives grew in special stone-enclosed plots. Perhaps the wood necessary for making sledges on which the statues might have been hauled was lumber that floated ashore. This is frequently mentioned in ancient tales. If native timber or driftwood was available in the old days, the difficulties of transportation would not have been overwhelming. We know that other Polynesians transported objects quite as heavy as the Easter Island images. For instance in the Marquesas, slabs weighing as much as 10 tons were hauled along the slopes of the mountains. The famous doorway, or trilithon, of Tonga, which is one of the marvels of the world, has a lintel weighing 30 tons. But when the Easter Islanders of today are asked about the means by which the statues were transported, they only say: "King Tuu-ko-ihu, the great magician, used to move them with the words of his mouth."

Other questions have arisen about the Easter Island carvings. How, for instance, did the people get the manpower for such large enterprises, which would have been impossible, it seems, if the population were as small as it is today? The answer is that before the Europeans arrived, the island had ten times as many inhabitants as it now has—4 or 5 thousand would be a conservative estimate. We know this from data given by its first European visitors and the early missionaries.

Again, are these statues as old as has been said? Certain writers have dated them as far back as 1000 B. C. There are even some who think that they might have been in existence 10,000 years ago. But the weight of general evidence is against these views. Although their material is a relatively soft stone, they still retain sharp outlines, and the hammer marks are still noticeable on them. As the winds blow with relentless force over the island, and rains are both frequent and violent, if the carving had been done thousands of years ago, it could not be in such good condition as it is today. Tradition seems to indicate that the Polynesian ancestors of the present inhabitants came to the island and settled it in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A. D. All things considered, I do not think the statues can be more than five or six centuries old. But no definite date can be set for them.

The figures of stone that stood so high above the shores of Easter Island, and in such striking formation that it is no wonder they amazed the old navigators, have attracted more attention than the other mysterious objects to which I have already referred—the wooden tablets with rows of strange signs incised on them. But these curious pieces of wood have also given rise to much speculation. They were bought from the natives by the missionaries in the early days of their work, and ever since they have been thought to contain a real script which, if it could be read, would prove a key to the island's mysteries.

The first white man to discover the tablets was Monseigneur Jaussen, French Bishop of Tahiti, in 1866. As he was looking at a piece of

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172 give up hope that the remains on Easter Island will help to solve
14 the problems of early American civilizations.

The result of 3 years' work on the island culture pursued at the
174 Bishop Museum in Honolulu, with which I have been associated,
173 shows that this Ultima Thule was discovered and settled by Polynesians, who arrived in a fleet of double canoes sometime, roughly, between the middle of the twelfth century A. D. and the end of the thirteenth. The time of the discovery and settlement can be established approximately from the lists of chiefs that have come to us. These the early missionaries took down from the dictation of the natives. I was permitted to copy another one from a list which my native informant had compiled himself. Many errors have, of course, slipped into these records, but a comparative study of them shows that Easter Island has been ruled by about 25 or 30 chiefs since the founder of the dynasty, Hotu-matua, and his people first came to its shores. Allowing 25 years for each ruler's reign—the usual method of measuring time in Polynesian annals—we find that this must have happened very close to the twelfth or thirteenth century. From other sources, we know also that this was a period of great sea expeditions, and that the settling of New Zealand and of many other islands in the Pacific occurred in what seems to have been a heroic age of ancient Polynesia.

173 Curiously enough, the oral tradition of the migration to Easter Island has been preserved remarkably well even down to the present. While I was there, I was told in great detail many more or less legendary incidents of the voyage eastward of Hotu-matua and his associate, the noble Tuuko-ihu. These stories with their core of history were the glorious sagas of the first emigrants to this little lost world.

174 At about the same time, the Tahitians, Maori, and Marquesans had a culture which was still undefined but was very similar in the different groups. In the course of the succeeding centuries, over each of these island areas a civilization developed along original lines, though still retaining the common background. The Easter Island culture belongs to this purely Polynesian type. The ancestors of the present population merely improved upon the legacy they received.

Where then did the Easter Islanders come from? Since they are Polynesians in race, language, and culture, the problem of their origin coincides with that of the Polynesians as a whole and is as yet unsolved. That the Polynesians came from Asia is beyond doubt. India, Assam, and Indo-China have been variously given as the cradle of these seafaring tribes, but sufficient evidence to validate these theories is still lacking. Within the Polynesian world the Easter Islanders offer
[171] many analogies with the Maori of New Zealand, the people of Mangareva and those of the Marquesas. Actually the resemblances between Easter Island culture and that of the Marquesas are very striking. It

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is possible that the Easter Islanders were among the early Polynesian emigrants who spread from central Polynesia toward the east, occupying the Tuamotus, Mangareva, and the Marquesas. Very likely after a sojourn in the Marquesas some again sailed eastward and discovered Easter Island. At the time they left the Marquesas their culture, of course, had not yet developed the specific pattern which characterized it when the Europeans landed there in the eighteenth century.

The genealogies of Mangareva, the nearest Polynesian island to Easter Island, date back to the twelfth century, but traditional history mentions early immigrants who settled on these islands and then left for other countries, leading a restless life. Similar traditions exist among the Marquesans. Hotu-matua, the discoverer of Easter Island, and his followers may well have represented a defeated tribe or a junior branch of the Marquesas or Mangareva.

What remains today of their work is evidence of the beauty and greatness of their isolated civilization, revealing the vigor and audacity of these Polynesians who spread over what seem once to have been the happiest islands on earth.

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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which is, however, misleading. They are wiry, lithe, strong, active, tireless on the march, capable of carrying heavy burdens long distances, indifferent to weariness, and seemingly equal to any amount of effort they might be induced to make. We saw this frequently exemplified on our tramp around the island, when, after a weary day's march, we would come into the camp foot-sore and tired, while they, fresh and active apparently, would go to work catching and dressing sheep, building fires, etc. If we complained that the water was "vai kava," bitter, they would endeavor to explain where better could be found and immediately start off, with bucket and canteen, on a tramp of a mile or two over the plain, or down into a crater, in order to bring us "vai maitai," good water.

These people proudly claim direct descent from the image and platform builders. It is not the writer's province to discuss this point, although strong arguments might be adduced to demonstrate the contrary. Be that as it may, it is very evident to the most casual observer either that the modern Rapa Nuiis belong, whether wholly or, which is more probable, in part, to a different race or that they are the "degenerate sons of worthy sires."

The color of their eyes is dark brown, with black brows and lashes, neither very heavy. Their expression of countenance is pleasing, mild, frank, modest, intelligent, and somewhat sad. They are slender but well formed, clean of limb, and the various parts of the body are well proportioned to each other. Their foreheads, while not very broad, are of good height and but slightly receding, which is also true of the facial angle generally. The head is well balanced and cheek bones are notably prominent. Their nose is quite straight and well shaped, with no marked spreading of the alae; mouths of moderate size and usually filled with excellent teeth, which, when the jaws are closed, come squarely into apposition; lips rather thin; hands and feet small. It may be mentioned that they attribute the beautiful appearance and excellent condition of their teeth to the chewing of sugar cane, large quantities of which they consume as food. There is nothing savage or repulsive looking about them, and some of their young women are decidedly comely and attractive. While in their habitations the evidences of good housewifery are nearly nil, they are quite cleanly in their personal habits and there is no unpleasant odor noticeable about their bodies. They all dress in European costume. They are a bright, intelligent, quick-witted people, of rather a nervous temperament; tractable and gentle in disposition, decidedly sympathetic and tender-hearted and markedly emotional in their natures, so that they are easily moved either to tears or laughter. In evidence of the latter trait in their character one or two instances may be adduced.

When the Catholic mission was first established on the island Chief Mati took a great liking to the reverend father in charge, evinced the greatest affection for him, and finally adopted him as his son. Such

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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no 'moai' (as they are termed) in England?" To ask the natives for the history of the images is as unsuccessful as to expect an old woman in the street to account for the statues in Parliament Square. The story which is universally told to account for the cessation of the work is as follows: "The chief person among the image makers was the cook; she was an old woman of great authority, and moved the statues by supernatural power ('mana'). One day on returning to the mountain she found that during her absence the workers had had a great feast of lobster and that nothing had been left for her. So great was her wrath that she threw down the statues and brought the whole work to a conclusion."

There are a considerable number of folk tales, but they deal almost entirely with wars between the different clans on the island, in which cannibalism played a large part. They contain an occasional allusion to the terraces, but none to the statues. Nevertheless when it has been stated that the natives are ignorant of the subject of the images certain qualifications must be introduced. They never deviate from the statement that the figures were made by their ancestors. They point out the first statue, a block lying on the outside of the mountain in which the worker seems to have involved himself in a certain amount of confusion between ear and shoulder. This man went, they say, to the other side of the other island to get information from an old man who resided there as to how a statue ought to be made. The man would not answer his questions, and the worker was coming away disheartened when the old man called him back. "Make the statue like me," he said. It was to be in the form of a man. Tradition points to a boundary on the mountain Rano Raraku which can only be the tabu line that preserved the image workers from intrusion.

On one subject it was possible to obtain information—the epoch when the statues were overthrown. They were standing in the time of Roggeveen, and many at any rate were still in position in the days of Cook. The last one was overthrown by the fathers of the present old men who as boys assisted their fathers—that is, about 1835.

There is a curious little piece of information preserved about this last statue, which is one of the tallest, measuring about 32 feet. There is a hillock near the terrace on which it stood, and it is said that after the statue was in place a causeway was constructed from this hillock to the statue, by which means the crown was placed on the head of the image.

Turning from tradition we sought to discover if there was any analogy between the details of the statues and native custom. In addition to their general form the images have three special characteristics—their hats, their ears, and the design on their backs.

If the form of hat could be traced and the people could be found who wore such hats, we should be appreciably nearer the solution of our problem. A careful inquiry was therefore made into native headdresses, but its results were suggestive rather than conclusive. It can hardly have

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The Ariki or chief of the Miru was not a leader in war nor the fountain of justice, nor even a priest; he was the great authority on the tablets. The last great chief "Gnaara" died about a year before the arrival of the Peruvians. He was said to be short and broad, very fair, but so heavily tattooed as to look dark.

At Anakena Bay on the northern coast, where tradition says the first landing took place, a great gathering was held every year. One old man, Te Haha, gave us a vivid description of the scene. He had himself been there as a boy as a sort of A.D.C. to the chief. Gnaara and his son sat on seats made of tablets. Before them in rows stood the professors of the great art, with an aisle down the centre; each man had his tablet, and was called on to read aloud. If he did not read correctly our friend Te Haha was directed by the chief to take away the offender.

What has been so far said on the subject refers to the sacred hieroglyphics only. We were fortunate enough to come across another kind of writing, of a similar nature but different both in form and intention. This was found on a paper in the village, and the signs were noted as dissimilar from those previously known. The paper was traced to a certain old man, Tomenico by name. He was suffering from incurable disease, confined to the leper colony, and of impaired memory. It was however worth while to make an effort. The first visit was a failure, but on the second and third, with a different native escort, things went better. Tomenico was seated outside his house and asked for a pencil and paper. He drew a number of signs similar to those on the paper, writing across the sheet, and then said the paper was not long enough. The line had to be continued direct; it could not go on the next line, so another sheet was supplied. Other lines went underneath it. To each symbol he then recited a set of words. There was no doubt as to the genuineness of the recitation. When he was stopped that the words might be taken down he was put out and had to begin again. It was more doubtful, however, whether the symbols had any connection with the words; they were apparently used more as the beads might be in a rosary. Two more visits were paid in the endeavour to get the system of writing, but he was then very ill and confined to his hut. Every means was tried, but little that was intelligible could be arrived at, and the effort had with deep regret to be abandoned. A fortnight later he died. Happily another old man in the village, though he had little knowledge of the hieroglyphics, had lived with Tomenico in his earlier years, and it was possible through him to get at their drift with comparative completeness and certainty. This is too long to go into on this occasion, but it may be briefly said that they dealt with minor events on the island, which were arranged in cycles of ten years.

While knowledge of the statues has almost disappeared, and detailed acquaintance with the tablets is following in its wake, there was found to have existed yet another cult, with regard to which, living memory is still strong and clear. This is the ceremony connected with the bird-cult or

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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764 showing that alteration has taken place even when the cult was alive (fig. 42). Again, a considerable number of ahu, some 333 thirteen in all, after being destroyed and terminating their career as image-terraces, have been rebuilt after the fashion of others constructed originally on a different plan (fig. 39). This is a type for which no name was found: it is in form that of a semi-pyramid, and there are between fifty and sixty on the island, in addition to those which have been in the first place image-ahu (fig. 42). A few are comparatively well made, but most are very rough. They resemble a pyramid cut in two, so that the section forms a triangle; this triangle is the sea-wall; the flanking buttress on the land side is made of stones, and is widest at the apex or highest point, gradually diminishing to the angles or extremities. The greatest height, in the centre, varies from about 5 feet to 12 feet, and a large specimen may extend in length from 100 feet to 160 feet. They contain vaults. In a few instances they are ornamented by broken pieces of image-stone, and occasionally by a row of small cairns along the top, which recall the position of the statues on the image-platform; for these no very certain reason was forthcoming, they were varyingly reported to be signs of "péra" or as marking the respective right of families on the ahu. As image-terraces may be found reconstructed as pyramid ahu, the latter form of building must have been carried on longer than the former, and probably till recent times, but there is nothing to show whether or not the earliest specimens of pyramid ahu are contemporary with the great works, or even earlier.

764 *Overthrow of the Images and Destruction of the Ahu.*—The only piece of a statue which still remains on its bed-plate is the fragment already alluded to at Tongariki (fig. 34). In the best-preserved specimens the figures lie on their faces like a row of huge nine-pins; some are intact, but many are broken, the cleavage having generally occurred when the falling image has come in contact with the containing wall at the lower level. The curious way in which the heads have not infrequently turned a somersault while falling and now lie face uppermost is shown in the eighth figure from the western end on Tongariki ahu (fig. 34).

173 No one now living remembers a statue standing on an ahu; and legend, though not of a very impressive character, has

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already arisen to account for the fall of some of them. An old man arrived, it is said, in the neighbourhood of Tongariki, and as he was unable to speak, he made known by means of signs that he wished for chicken-heads to eat; these were not forthcoming. He slept, however, in one of the houses there, and during the night his hosts were aroused by a great noise, which he gave it to be understood was made by his feet tapping against the stone foundations of the house. In the morning it was found that the statues on the great ahu had all fallen: it was the revenge of the old man. Such lore is, however, mixed up with more tangible statements to the effect that the figures were overthrown in tribal warfare by means of a rope, or by taking away the small stones from underneath the bed-plates, and thus causing them to fall forward. That the latter method had been used had been concluded independently by studying the remains themselves. It will be seen later, that other statues which have been set up in earth were deliberately dug out, and it seems unnecessary to look, as some have done, to an earthquake to account for their collapse.

Moreover, the conclusion that the images owed their fall to deliberate vandalism during internecine warfare is confirmed by knowledge, which still survives, connected with the destruction of the last one. This image stood alone on an ahu on the north coast, called Paro, and is the tallest known to have been put up on a terrace, being 32 feet in height. The events occurred just before living memory, and, like most stories in Easter Island, it is connected with cannibalism. A woman of the western clans was eaten by men of the eastern; her son managed to trap thirty of the enemy in a cave and consumed them in revenge; and during the ensuing struggle this image was thrown down (fig. 78). The oldest man living when we were on the island said that he was an infant at the time; and another, a few years younger, stated that his father as a boy helped his grandfather in the fight. It is not, after all, only in Easter Island that pleasure has been taken during war-time in destroying the architectural treasures of the enemy.

While, therefore, the date of the erection of the earliest image ahu is lost in the mists of antiquity, nor are we yet in a position to say when the building stopped, we can give approximately the time of the overthrow of the images. We know,

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316 little doubt that it is at any rate a partial solution of the problem. Some of the images are little more than embossed carvings on the face of the rock without surrounding alley-ways. In one instance, inside the crater, a piece of rock which has been left standing on the very summit of the cliff has been utilised in such a way that the figure lies on its side, while its back is formed by the outward precipice (fig. 56); this is contrary to all usual methods, and it seems improbable that it was intended to make it into a standing statue. Perhaps the strongest evidence is afforded by the size of some of the statues: the largest (fig. 55; no. 64, fig. 60) is 66 feet in length, whereas 36 feet is the extreme ever found outside the quarry; tradition, it is true, points out the ahu on the south coast for which this monster was designed, but it is difficult to believe it was ever intended to move such a mass. If this theory is correct, it would be interesting to know whether the stage of carving came first, and that of removal followed, as the workmen became more expert; or whether it was the result of decadence when labour may have become scarce. It is, of course, possible that the two methods proceeded concurrently, rock-carvings being within the means of those who could not procure the labour necessary to move the statue.

1●173 Legendary lore throws no light on these matters, nor on the reasons which led to the desertion of this labyrinth of work; it has invented a story which entirely satisfies the native mind and is repeated on every occasion. There was a certain old woman who lived at the southern corner of the mountain and filled the position of cook to the image-makers. She was the most important person of the establishment, and moved the images by supernatural power (*mana*), ordering them about at her will. One day, when she was away, the workers obtained a fine lobster, which had been caught on the west coast, and ate it up, leaving none for her; unfortunately they forgot to conceal the remains, and when the cook returned and found how she had been treated, she arose in her wrath, told all the images to fall down, and thus brought the work to a standstill.

532 *Standing Statues of Rano Raraku.*—Descending from the quarries, we turn to the figures below. A few at the foot of the mountain have obviously been thrown down; one of these (no. 6, fig. 60) was wrecked in the same conflict as the one on Ahu Paro,

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one in the quarry, under a drip from above, is known by the equivalent for "Dropping Water," while a series inside the crater are called after the birds which frequent the cliff-side, "Kia-kia, Flying," "Kia-kia, Sitting," and so forth. A solitary legend relates to an unique figure, resembling rather a block than an image, which lies on the surface on the outside of the mountain (no. 24, fig. 60). It is the single exception to the rule mentioned above, that no evolution can be traced in the statues on the island. The usual conception is there, and the hands are shown, but the head seems to melt into the body and the ear and arm to have become confused. It is said to have been the first image made and is known as Tai-haré-atua, which tradition says was the name of the maker. He found himself unable to fashion it properly, and went over to the other side of the island to consult with a man who lived near Hanga Roa, named Rauwai-ika. He stayed the night there, but the expert remained silent, and he was retiring disappointed in the morning, when he was followed by his host, who called him back. "Make your image," said he, "like me,"—that is, in form of a man.

On our first visit to the mountain, overcome by the wonder of the scene, we turned to our Fernandez boy and asked him what he thought of the statues. Like the classical curate, when the bishop inquired as to the character of his egg, he struggled manfully between the desire to please and a sense of truth; like the curate, he took refuge in compromise. "Some of them," he said doubtfully, he thought "were very nice." If the figures at first strike even the cultured observer as crude and archaic, it must be remembered that not only are they the work of stone tools, but to be rightly seen should not be scrutinised near at hand. "Hoa-haka-nanaia," for instance, is wholly and dismally out of place under a smoky portico, but on the slopes of a mountain, gazing in impenetrable calm over sea and land, the simplicity of outline is soon found to be marvellously impressive. The longer the acquaintance the more this feeling strengthens; there is always the sense of quiet dignity, of suggestion and of mystery.

While the scene on Raraku always arouses a species of awe, it is particularly inspiring at sunset, when, as the light fades, the images gradually become outlined as stupendous black figures against the gorgeous colouring of the west. The most

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to a relative, who was the father of an old man from whom we managed to obtain it. When the time came to hand it over to us, the late owner began to cling to it affectionately, and say that he "wept much at the thought of its going to England"; as, however, the bargain had already been completed, we remained obdurate, and at the time of writing Hotu resides with Ko Tori at the Royal College of Surgeons.

The Miru were unique in other ways; they were the only group which had a headman or chief, who was known as the "ariki," or sometimes as the "ariki-mau," the great chief, to distinguish him from the "ariki-paka," a term which seems to have been given to all other members of the clan.[1] The office of ariki-mau was hereditary, and he was the only man who was obliged to marry into his own clan. It was customary when he was old and feeble that he should resign in favour of his son. There are various lists of the succession of chiefs, counted from the first immigrant, Hotu-matua. The oldest lists are those given by Bishop Jaussen[2] and by Admiral Lapelin,[3] which contain some thirty names. Thomson gives one with fifty-seven. In our day there was admittedly much uncertainty about the sequence, but the number was said to be thirty,[4] and two independent lists were obtained. All these categories differ, though they contain many of the same names, particularly at the beginning and end.

The last man to fill the post of ariki with its original dignity was Ngaara; he died shortly before the Peruvian raid, and becomes a very real personage to anyone inquiring into the history of the island. He was short, and very stout, with white skin, as had all his family, but so heavily tattooed as to look black. He wore feather hats of various descriptions, and was hung round both back and front with little wooden ornaments, which jingled as he walked. When our authorities can remember him his wife was dead and he lived with his son Kaimokoi. It was not permitted to see them eat, and no one but the servants was allowed to enter the house. His headquarters were at Anakena, the cove on the island where, according to tradition, the first came landed.

[1] Evidence on this head was rather contradictory, but no Miru could be found, male or female, to whom the title was not given.

[2] "L'Ile de Pâques," M. Tépano Jaussen, *Bulletin Géographique*, 1893, p. 241.

[3] *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, vol. XXXV, p. 109.

[4] Thirty is, however, a very favourite number: cf. the folk-tales.

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went, and "the mother took two chickens, one in each hand, and the mother and children stood upright and the "maori sang"; they did not go to Orongo because there was war. A drawing was made for us by Juan and the old men of the poki-manu in ceremonial attire (fig. 114); it was particularly interesting to find, when it was handed in, that circles of white pigment were made on the child's back, and also on each buttock, in a way which recalls the adornment of the Anakena image (fig. 65).

### Wooden Carvings

The stone sculpture of Easter Island belongs to an era which is now forgotten; there are a number of wooden carvings which, whatever their original age, are connected with a recent past, and even in a limited sense with the present.

The most important of these works, the tablets, have already been dealt with, and mention has been made of the lizard figures, they have the head of that animal on a human body (fig. 117). The "ao," the large dancing-paddle, and the smaller one, the "rapa," are of much the same character, though used on different occasions (figs. 116 (*a*), 118). The "ua" is a club, on the handle of which are two heads back to back; these clubs were dignified with individual names. The "paoa" was a wooden sword. There were also bird ornaments carved in wood which were worn on the last day of the koro and by Ngaara. The "rei-miro" is a breast ornament of a crescent shape, with a face at one or both ends; it is found depicted on the Orongo rocks and frequently on the tablets. It was especially a woman's decoration, but a number of small ones were said to have been worn by Ngaara. The specimen in the British Museum is embellished with glyphs, of which no account was forthcoming (fig. 115).

Wooden objects which are peculiarly interesting are the small male and female figures some twenty to thirty inches in height; the natives term them "moai," adding the word "miro," or wood (fig. 119). In a certain number of these the ribs are very prominent, giving the effect of emaciation; they are called "moai kava-kava," or the statues with ribs. It has been suggested that this represents the condition in which the first inhabitants reached the island, but such an explanation is

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strenuously denied by the present people, who assert that their ancestors arrived with plenty of food. The figures have long ears, like the statues in stone, and a marked feature is their little goatee beards. These beards are found in three or four statues at Raraku, in a head in relief on Motu Nui, and one is indicated in fig. 31. But the most striking link with the stone figures is the back, where there is a ring similar to that found on the larger statues: the girdle and M-like design below it also appear in varying degree (fig. 120). A comparative study of the backs of the wooden images has suggested the idea[1] that this M-like marking in stone may be simply the last stage of an evolution in design, which originally showed the lines of the lower portion of the back and thigh.[2] It would be satisfactory if, in the same way, the triple belt could be connected with the ribs and the ring with the vertebræ, but for this the evidence is less conclusive, although the ribs of the body with the lizard head closely approach the conventional. It must be remembered that the figures are nude, and that therefore these designs can scarcely represent any form of dress. There is a pronounced excrescence on the buttocks in the wooden figures, which is also a mystery, but which recalls the way in which the rings on the image found at Anakena (fig. 65) and those on the poki-manu (fig. 114) emphasise the same part of the anatomy. The heads are embellished with ornaments, some of which are bird designs (fig. 121). These figures were worn by men only, and hung round the neck on important occasions; they were parts of the festival dress at Mataveri and at the koro.

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The tradition of the origin of the wooden images is one of the best known and uniformly narrated, but obviously bears the marks of endeavouring to explain facts whose genesis has been forgotten. It runs thus: Tuukoihu, an ariki, and one of the first immigrants, was a clever man or "tangata-maori"; he had two houses, one at Ahu Tepeu on the west side and one at Hanga Hahavé on the south coast—the foundations of both are shown. One night, when he was sleeping at the latter dwelling, two female aku-aku appeared to him, by name Papa Ahiro and Papa

[1] We owe this suggestion to Captain T. A. Joyce.

[2] Those unacquainted with the manner in which the drawing of a natural object can, through constant repetition, lose all resemblance to it and become purely conventional are referred to *Evolution in Art*, by Dr. A. C. Haddon.